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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

EXTRACT FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC SOVEREIGNS, FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

BY ANDRES BERNALDEZ.

[Translated from the original Manuscript.]

[The following pages are translated from a chronicle, *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos* — written by Andres Bernaldez, curate of Los Palacios, a town of Andalusia in Spain. The greater part of the work is devoted, as the title implies, to a general history of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. His residence in the immediate neighborhood of the theatre of the Moorish war, led him to give particular attention to the events of that chivalrous struggle, for which he is one of the very best authorities. The curate was intimate with several of the distinguished men of his time, whom he entertained under his hospitable roof in their journeys through the country. Among these was Columbus. The latter seems to have conceived a great regard for his host, who to much simplicity of character, united more learning than usual at that time, and an inquisitive spirit on all subjects of rational interest. The chapters of his chronicle now translated, are devoted to an account of the great navigator gathered from his personal intercourse with him, as well as from the journals and papers which Columbus deposited in his hands. As the record of an honest contemporary, familiar with the subject of the story, it is of the highest value, and will doubtless possess much interest for the American reader. The original is still in manuscript; and no part of it has hitherto been translated from the Castilian. The present version is made from a copy belonging to Mr. Prescott, in whose 'History of Ferdinand and Isabella,' is the following brief sketch of Bernaldez and his literary labors.

"The curate of Los Palacios was a native of Fuente in Leon, and appears to have received his early education under the care of his grandfather, a notary of that place, whose commendations of a juvenile essay

in historical writing led him later in life, according to his own account, to record the events of his time in the extended and regular form of a chronicle. After admission to orders, he was made chaplain to Deza, archbishop of Seville, and curate of Los Palacios, an Andalusian town not far from Seville, where he discharged his ecclesiastical functions with credit, from 1488 to 1513, at which time, as we find no later mention of him, he probably closed his life with his labors.

“Bernaldez had ample opportunities for accurate information relative to the Moorish war, since he lived, as it were, in the theatre of action, and was personally intimate with the most considerable men of Andalusia, especially the marquis of Cadiz, whom he has made the Achilles of his epic, assigning him a much more important part in the principal transactions, than is always warranted by other authorities. His chronicle is just such as might have been anticipated from a person of lively imagination, and competent scholarship for the time, deeply dyed with the bigotry and superstition of the Spanish clergy in that century. There is no great discrimination apparent in the work of the worthy curate, who dwells with goggle-eyed credulity on the most absurd marvels, and expends more pages on an empty court show, than on the most important schemes of policy. But if he is no philosopher, he has, perhaps, for that very reason, succeeded in making us completely master of the popular feelings and prejudices of the time ; while he gives a most vivid portraiture of the principal scenes and actors in this stirring war, with all their chivalrous exploit, and rich theatrical accompaniment. His credulity and fanaticism, moreover, are well compensated by a simplicity and loyalty of purpose, which secure much more credit to his narrative than attaches to those of more ambitious writers whose judgment is perpetually swayed by personal or party interests. The chronicle descends as late as 1513, although, as might be expected from the author’s character, it is entitled to much less confidence in the discussion of events which fell without the scope of his personal observation. Notwithstanding its historical value is fully recognised by the Castilian critics, it has never been admitted to the press, but still remains engulfed in the ocean of manuscripts, with which the Spanish libraries are deluged.” *“History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic of Spain.”* Vol. II. pp. 108, 109.]

CHAPTER 118.

How the Indies were Discovered.

IN the name of Almighty God. There was a man of Genoa, a dealer in printed books, who traded in this province of Andalusia, and whose name was Christopher Columbus : a man of very lofty genius, without much acquaintance with letters, but very learned in the art of cosmography. From what he had read in Ptolemy, and in other books, and by his own acuteness, he had learned respecting this earth,

upon which we are born and live, that it is placed within the sphere of the heavens, that it does not in any part touch them, or any other firm substance, by which it is supported, but land and water are encircled round about by the void space of the heavens. He likewise ascertained in what way land abounding in gold might be discovered, and that, since this earth, or terraqueous globe, may be passed entirely around, by land and by water, (as John de Mandeville relates,) whoever should have suitable vessels, and should pursue the right course, by sea and land, might sail directly west from Cape St. Vincent, and return by way of Jerusalem and Rome to Seville; which would be to go completely round the circumference of the whole earth. Also, he constructed a map of the world, to which he devoted much study, and thus perceived that, in whatever direction one should sail across the ocean, he could not avoid finding land; and moreover he satisfied himself as to the route, by which a region of much gold might be discovered; a favorite subject of his thoughts.

Knowing that King John, of Portugal, was much interested in discovery, he offered his services to that monarch; but his theory being stated, no credit was given to it, because the Portuguese King had in his service many eminent and learned navigators, who made light of it, and took for granted that there were in the world no other discoverers greater than themselves. So Columbus came to the court of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, and explained to them his theory; to which they likewise gave but little credit: but he conversed with them, and assured them that what he said was certainly true, and showed them his map of the world, till he excited in them a desire to know something about those countries, of which he told them. And having dismissed him, they summoned their astrologers, astronomers, and courtiers who were learned in cosmography, whose advice they required; and the opinion of the majority of them, after hearing Columbus, was that his views were correct. Accordingly, the King and Queen concluded an agreement with him, ordered three vessels to be fitted out at Seville, with men and provisions, within the time that he desired, and despatched him, in the name of God and our Lady, upon his discoveries.

Columbus set sail from Palos, in the month of September, 1492, and pursued his voyage through the sea to the Cape Verd islands, and thence west, towards the point where we see the sun set, in the month of March ; in which direction all the mariners believed it impossible to find land. And indeed, the King of Portugal had several times sent vessels in that direction to make discoveries, (for many persons believed that countries very rich in gold lay in that quarter) but they could never discover land, and always returned with their labor lost: but for the good fortune and the desert of our King and Queen, it pleased God that the discovery should be made in their time. In one of the ships went as captain Martin Alonzo Pinzon, a citizen of Palos, a distinguished navigator, and a man of great wisdom in nautical matters. From the Cape Verd islands they pursued their course towards the point to which Columbus's faith directed him, for thirty-two days, before they discovered land. During the last of these days, the greater number of the sailors, seeing that they had already gone more than a thousand leagues, and had discovered nothing, thought there was no sense in proceeding farther,—that they were already lost beyond all hope, and that it would be a miracle if they should be able to find their way home. However, Columbus and the other officers, with soothing words, persuaded them to go on, and assured them that, with God's help, they were certain of finding land.

One day, as Columbus was looking towards the heavens, he saw birds flying very high, from the one side to the other. He pointed them out to his comrades, crying "Good news!" and half a day later, they discovered land. Here they lost the largest of their three vessels, which ran aground and went down ; but none of the men were lost. Upon this first island they landed, and Columbus took formal possession for the King and Queen, with standard and banner flying ; and he gave it the name of San Salvador ; but the natives call it Guanahani. They found that all the people, both men and women, went naked as they were born ; and though at first they fled from our men, yet these succeeded in communicating with some of them, and by giving them presents, which they had brought in the ships, quieted their fears. To the second island which he discovered, Columbus gave

the name of Santa Maria, in honor of the Virgin : the third he called Fernandina, in honor of King Ferdinand: the fourth he called Isabella, in honor of the Queen: and the fifth, Juana, in honor of the Prince, Don Juan: and in the same way, to each of the islands which they discovered, they gave a new name. Along the island Juana they coasted towards the west; and they found it so large, that they supposed it must be a continent. As they perceived neither towns nor villages upon the sea-coast, but only scattered habitations, with the people of which they could obtain no communication, since they fled as soon as they saw them, they went back to an excellent harbor, whence Columbus sent two men into the interior, to learn whether the people had any king or chiefs. These men journeyed three days, and found a vast number of settlements, built of wood and straw, with innumerable multitudes of people, but no indications of any kind of government; whereupon they returned.

The Indians who had been taken, told the Spaniards by signs that this land was not a continent, but an island; and following the coast, towards the east, a hundred and seven leagues from the point where they first landed, they came to a cape, from which they saw another island, distant about eighteen leagues, to which Columbus gave the name of Hispaniola. They coasted along this island, on the northern side, as they had done with Juana; and though all the islands were wondrously beautiful, they found this of Hispaniola more beautiful than all the rest; for in it there are many harbors, excellent in comparison with the best to be found in Christian countries, and many large and noble rivers; the land is high, with many beautiful mountains and very lofty ridges, covered with a thousand varieties of trees, so high that they seem to reach to heaven. I believe that these never shed their leaves; for it appears that in the season when it is winter here, and all the trees lose their foliage, there they were all as they are with us in the month of May; some were in flower, and some in fruit; and in their branches the nightingale and other birds were singing as they do here in May. Some of these have feathers of six or seven different kinds, which are admirable for their variety. The abundance of fountains, trees and plants, is wonderful.

There are pine-groves, plains, and level tracts of very great extent. The trees and fruits are not like ours. There are mines of gold, of inestimable value. It appeared to Columbus, and the others who were with him, from the richness and beauty of the land, that it must be very profitable for tillage, for planting and raising crops, and for pasturing cattle sent from Spain. They found in this island of Hispaniola very large rivers, with very sweet waters, and they knew that there was much gold in their sands. They saw that the trees of the mountains were not like ours. They also saw, and learned from the Indians, that in this island there were large mines of fine gold.

The people of these islands, and those before mentioned, all went naked as they were born, both men and women, with as little embarrassment or shame as the people of Castile in full dress. Some of the women wore simply a strip of cotton, with a cord for a girdle: others used a leaf of a tree, which was large, and suitable for the purpose: others wore a mantle of cotton cloth, bound around the hips, and reaching to the middle of the thigh; and I believe that this was worn during pregnancy. The natives had no iron or steel, and no arms or other things made from these or any other metal, excepting gold. They were and are a very timid race, for a thousand of them would flee from three armed Spaniards. Their only weapons were canes, or reeds, with no iron about them, but having some sharp substance at the end; which could do very little injury to our men: and though they have these arms, they cannot use them, or stones, which are a powerful weapon, for they have not the courage. In the course of the voyage above related, it happened that Columbus sent two or three men from the ships to a certain town, to communicate with the natives. They came out without number to meet them, but when they saw them come nearer, they all fled, and not a single one remained behind. Afterwards, however, when they had got rid of their terror, they were very quiet, and much pleased, and took great delight in conversing with the sailors. These people were all simple, peaceable, liberal, and well disposed, sharing with each other, making free with whatever they possessed, and giving without stint. Those that came to the ships, after they had recovered from their fears, showed

towards our people much love and good will ; and for whatever was given them they returned many thanks, and received it with much gratitude, as if it were a sacred relic, and gave whatever they had in return. One of the sailors, for a leathern strap, received a lump of gold, worth two *castellanos* ;* and others as much, and even more, for trifles of little value : for a new *blanca*† they would give two pieces of gold, worth three *castellanos*, or an *arroba*,‡ or two of spun cotton, which is very abundant in those regions. Columbus and his companions, in this voyage, did not learn what was the religious belief of these people, but they pointed towards the heavens, making signs that they believed that there was all power and holiness. And they thought and believed that these strangers, with their fleet, had come from heaven, and were inhabitants of another world ; and accordingly in every village, after they had overcome their terror, they received them with the reverence inspired by such a belief. This was not in consequence of their simplicity or defect of understanding, for they are a very subtle race, of much acuteness, and they navigate all the neighboring seas, and it is wonderful to hear the account they give of everything, except that they never before saw or heard of people wearing clothes, or such vessels as those of the Spaniards.

On his first arrival in the Indies with his fleet, Columbus took by force some of the natives, in order to obtain from them information concerning the country ; and either by signs or by words, they and the sailors very soon came to understand each other. These men were of great service during the voyage, for at every place at which they touched, some of them were set at liberty and sent on shore, and they went through the country, crying with loud voices, “ Come ! come ! and see the people from Heaven ! ” and those who heard them, when they had possessed themselves of the news, went to tell others, from village to village, and from town to town, over the country, to come and see these wonderful people, who had come from heaven ; so that all the men and women thronged to see so great a marvel, and after they had lost their fear and felt themselves safe, they

* An ancient Spanish coin.

† A copper coin, of the value of half a *maravedi*.

‡ Twenty-five pounds.

all came, without hesitation, to the people in the ships, and brought them food and drink, — so that it was astonishing to see them. In all these islands, the natives had a kind of boats, in which they sailed, and which they called *canoes*, about as long as a *fusta*,* some large and some small, but all narrow, for each one is made from the trunk of a single tree. They make them with very sharp flint-stones; some, of the size of a *fusta* of eight benches; but a *fusta* cannot keep up with them in rowing, for they go with incredible swiftness. With these canoes, they navigate all those seas, and exchange their commodities with each other. Some of them will hold sixty men, and others, still larger, will carry eighty men, each with his oar in his hands. In all these islands, the Spaniards did not observe any diversity in the appearance or the customs of the natives, or in their language; but they had all broad foreheads and faces, round heads, measuring as much from temple to temple as from the forehead to the back of the head, dark hair, and bodies of the middle size, and of a tawny color, nearer white than black. They all appeared to understand each other, and to be of one tongue; which is a surprising fact — that in so many islands there should be no diversity of language; but it may have been caused by navigation, for they were lords of the sea; whereas in the Canary islands, where they have not the means of navigation, the natives do not understand each other, but each island has its own language.

I have already related how Columbus sailed along the coast of the island to which he gave the name of Juana, a hundred and seven leagues in a straight line; by which it seemed to him to be larger than England and Scotland together. To the west of this island were two other provinces, which Columbus did not visit. One of these the Indians call Naham, where they say men are born with tails; but from what I have read and seen upon the map of the world, I do not believe that this is the place; — if it is, however, with God's help, it will soon be made known. These islands, or provinces, according to the account of the Indians, may be about fifty or sixty leagues each in length.

The island Hispaniola, which the Indians call Hayti,

* A small vessel, with lateen sails.

placed beside the others of which I have spoken, is like gold beside silver. It is very large and beautiful, with groves, rivers, mountains, plains, and noble seas and harbors. Its circuit is greater than that of Spain, from Colibre, which is in Catalonia, near Perpignan, by the sea-coast, around Granada, Portugal, Galicia, and Biscay, to Fuenterrabia, which is at the extremity of the latter province. The Spaniards went eighty-eight leagues in a straight line from west to east; which showed the great extent of the island; for it is very large, and most favorably situated with reference to the gold mines, and for all kinds of commerce, with either continent. Columbus founded a town here in Hispaniola, (called by the natives Hayti) to which he gave the name of the city of La Navidad. Here he left forty men, with artillery, and arms, and provisions, beginning the erection of a fortress; for which purpose he left skilful workmen, with provisions for a certain period, and chosen men from those he had brought with him, men of intelligence and information: and indeed it was necessary, as it seemed, to leave them; for, one of their vessels having run aground at this place, and been lost, there was no way of carrying them all home. Columbus declared that they were left solely for the purpose of commencing a settlement; and he formed an alliance with a king of that region, the parties pledging themselves to each other as close friends, and, as it were, brothers; and Columbus commended to the king's protection the men whom he left there. The vessel was lost in Hispaniola, near the spot where the forty men were left.

Here, at the entrance to the Indies, are certain islands, which the natives of those above-named call the Caribbees; and which are peopled by a race, whom they regard as very fierce, and hold in great terror, because they eat human flesh. They have many canoes, with which they make incursions into all the neighboring islands, carry off whatever they can find, and take prisoners as many men and women as they can, and kill and eat them; which is a matter of great astonishment and horror. They are not more ill-looking than the others, but they have this abominable custom, and they are a more valiant race than the rest; and their weapons, of which they use a great abundance, are arrows, or sticks, sharpened at the end, or pointed with fishes' bones,

for want of iron, which they do not possess. They wear their hair long, like women, and are held in dread as ferocious, by the natives of the other islands; but this is because the latter are a very cowardly, domestic, and peaceable race, and not that the Caribs are brave, or that our men think more of them than of their neighbors. In the islands of these Caribs, as well as in the others above-mentioned, is gold in incalculable quantity, cotton in vast abundance, and especially spices, such as pepper, which is four times as strong and pungent as the pepper that we use in Spain, and which all the natives esteem very valuable for its medicinal virtues. There are also flax, aloes, mastich, rhubarb, and many other good things, as it seemed to Columbus. None of our quadrupeds or animals were found in these islands at this time, except some little dogs, and in the level country some huge rats, which they call otters, and which are used for food, and are very savory, being eaten like our rabbits, and considered equally good. There are many birds, all different from ours, and in particular, many parrots.

Having made these discoveries, Columbus returned to Castile, arrived at Palos on the 23d of March, 1493, and entered Seville with great honor, on the 31st, being Palm Sunday; his reception being suited to the complete success of his project. He brought with him ten Indians, four of whom he left at Seville, and the other six he took to Barcelona, to show to the King and Queen, who received him very graciously, gave him great credit for what he had done, and gave him orders for the fitting out of another and larger squadron, with which to return. They also bestowed upon him the title of Admiral of the Great Ocean-Sea of the Indies; and commanded, for the honor of that dignity, that he should be called *Don Christopher Columbus*. He left Barcelona, recommended to that very honorable and discreet man, Don Juan de Fonseca, at that time Archdeacon of Seville, the same who was Bishop of Badajoz, afterwards of Cordova, and afterwards of Palencia, and also Count of Pernia, and who then had the charge, under the King, of the fleets and the extension of commerce of Seville and of Andalusia. This arrangement being made, Columbus came to Seville, where in a short time he was provided with the squadron spoken of above, and with the requisite men,

provisions, and supplies, with captains, officers of justice, learned men, naturalists, and men distinguished in counsel and in arms; and with everything else necessary for the enterprise — with good ships, and good crews, and skilful goldsmiths, to detect and refine the gold.

CHAPTER 119.

Of the Second Expedition to the Indies.

By the grace of God and the command of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus sailed from Cadiz, on the 22d of September, 1493, with the squadron despatched by their Highnesses from Spain for the Indies, consisting of seventeen vessels, well provided, and having on board twelve hundred fighting men, or nearly that number, and with wind and weather favorable for the voyage. This weather lasted two days, during which they made little progress; but after that the weather became so propitious, that in two days more they reached the great Canary island, where they went into port, — this having become necessary, in order to repair one of the vessels, which was making a good deal of water, — and remained the whole of the day. The next day they set sail, but they were delayed by calms, and were four or five days in reaching Gomera, where it was necessary to remain several days, to lay in supplies of meat, and wood, and water, for their great voyage; so that, what with the weather, and their detentions in port, and one day they were becalmed, after leaving Gomera, it was twenty days before they arrived at the island of Yerro. From this place, by God's goodness, the weather was most excellent, so that never did fleet make so good a voyage; for within twenty days they came in sight of land; and they might have done it in fourteen, if the ship Capitana had been as good a sailer as the rest. In all this time, they never encountered a storm, except once, on the eve of St. Simon and Jude, when they had a storm, which lasted four hours, and put them in considerable peril. On the first Sunday after All Saints', about daybreak, a pilot of the ship Capitana cried out "Good news! there is land in

sight!" whereat many were greatly rejoiced. The pilots of the squadron, on that day, computed the distance from the island Yerro, one of the Canaries, to the first land which they saw, to be about eight hundred leagues; some made it twenty less, — but the difference is not important. Add to these three hundred, which is the distance from Yerro to Cadiz, and we have for the whole distance from the extreme points of Spain (which are Cadiz and the ports of Andalusia) to the nearest ports of the Indies, eleven hundred leagues.

This same Sunday morning, they saw ahead of them an island, and directly afterwards, on the right, appeared another new land, with lofty ridges of mountains, which, on the side towards them, was very thickly covered with trees: and as it grew lighter, trees and islands began to appear on all sides, so that they saw, that day, six islands, in different directions, and most of them quite large. They steered for the first which they discovered, and having arrived off its coast, proceeded more than twenty leagues in search of a harbor, but without success; for wherever they could see, the mountain appeared to extend, very beautiful and very green, to the water's edge; — which was a delightful sight, since in Spain, at that season, there is scarcely anything green. As they did not find a harbor, the Admiral thought it best to go to the other island, which they had seen on the right, and which was four or five leagues distant, one of the vessels, meanwhile, remaining at the first island, seeking for a harbor, in case there should be occasion to visit the island again. The men in this vessel succeeded in finding a good harbor, and saw habitations and people; and immediately, the same night, they departed, and joined the rest of the squadron, which had gone into port in the other island, where the Admiral landed, and much people with him, with the royal standard in his hand, and took possession, in due form, for their Highnesses, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, his wife, sovereigns of Spain. In this island there was a wonderful abundance and variety of trees, which no one knew any thing about, and therefore they were afraid of their fruits, which were of different color, and some of them green, and the trees themselves were all green. They found a tree, whose leaf had the finest possible odor of

cloves: it was like the laurel, only not so large. There were wild fruits of various kinds, and some of the men, who were not very prudent, tasted them; and some of these who barely touched them with their tongues, became swollen in the face, and were seized with violent fever and pain, so that it seemed as if they would go mad; but, by means of cooling remedies, they were cured.

In this island they found no human beings, nor any signs of them, and they believed it to be uninhabited. They were there but two hours by daylight; for it was evening when they arrived, and the next morning they set sail for another island, seven or eight leagues distant, which, as seen from this, appeared very large. They arrived by the side of a huge mountain, which seemed to reach to the very heavens, from the middle of which rose a lofty peak, and from this there poured forth great quantities of water, on different sides, and more especially on the side towards the ships; so that, even at three leagues' distance, it had the appearance of a large stream of water, and seemed to fall from heaven, so high was its source. Being seen so far, it occasioned on board the vessels many wagers and disputes; some saying that it was white rocks, and some that it was water; but as they came nearer, they saw how the fact was; and it was a very famous and wonderful sight, to see so large a body of water fall through so great a distance, from so small a point. Immediately on their arrival, the Admiral sent a light caravel to search for a harbor; the captain of which, having proceeded some distance, discovered huts, and people in them, who as soon as they saw him and the men who were coming with him, took to flight, and the captain entered their huts, and found everything that they kept there, for they had taken away nothing. There he found and carried off two parrots, very large, and very different from any that had been seen; he found, also, much cotton, spun, and ready for spinning, and other articles of their household goods, of all which he took away a little. He likewise brought away four or five bones of human legs and arms; as soon as they saw which, they knew that these were the islands of the Caribs, inhabited by a race of cannibals. The Admiral, bearing in mind what had been told him by signs by the Indians, in his former voyage, concern-

ing an island which was in sight from the place where he then was, set out for the place which the caravel had visited, to see what he could find there; the rather, because it was nearer Spain, and, as he judged, in the most direct route to Hispaniola, where he had left the forty men in his first voyage; and indeed, by God's goodness, and the excellent skill of the Admiral, they were going in as direct a course thither, as if they had been following a well known, beaten highway. The island is large, the coast extending, on the side which they saw, apparently twenty-five leagues. They coasted along it, more than two leagues, finding, wherever they went, very lofty mountains, though in other parts of the island they could perceive extensive plains, and meeting with a few small settlements near the sea, whose inhabitants all fled as soon as they saw the ships. At the end of these two leagues, they went into port, it being very late; and the same night the Admiral, notwithstanding his suspicions from what had been seen, gave directions that early on the following morning some of the men should go on shore, to take prisoners, from whom they could learn what people this might be.

The next morning, accordingly, some of the captains set out upon this errand. Some of them came upon the natives at their hour for eating; and they captured a youth of about fourteen years, who, as they afterwards learned, and as he himself said, was one of those who had been taken prisoners by the natives of the island. The others went in a different direction, and they took a little boy, that was holding a man by the hand, who left him behind that he might himself escape. A part of the men were immediately sent back with this boy; the rest remained, and some of them took several women, some being natives of the island, whom they brought off by force, and others captives, who went with them voluntarily. One of the captains, and with him six men, got separated from this party, and lost their way, and could not find it again, till, after four days had passed, they came upon the sea-coast, and by following it along rejoined their companions in the ships, who, perhaps not unreasonably, supposed them lost, and devoured by the Caribs; though among these men there were pilots and mariners who could find their way to Spain and back by

the stars, and it might have been believed that they could not have perished in so short a time. On the same day that this party was sent on shore, there were walking by the sea-shore many men and women, gazing at the ships, and marvelling greatly at a sight so strange; and when a boat put off for the land, to speak with them, they cried, "*Fainon! fainon!*" which means "Good! good!" and they waited till the sailors were just getting out of the boat upon the shore, beside the mountain, giving themselves barely time to escape. The result was, that none of the men could be taken by force, and only two were taken at all, who were first enticed, and then forcibly carried off. Of the women they took more than twenty, some of them natives of the island, who were brought away by force, and others captives, who came voluntarily; and indeed many of the captives came to the ships, fleeing from the natives, who were keeping them to be eaten.

In this harbor they remained eight days, in consequence of the absence of the captain, as above related; during which time, the men often went on shore, to visit the dwellings and villages of the people, which were near the coast; and there they found immense quantities of human bones, and skulls hung up about the huts, like vessels for household uses;—these were the bones of the men that they had eaten. They found but few men, because, as the women said, they were gone with ten canoes, on a hostile expedition to the other islands. The natives of this island seem to have had a more regular government than those of the others. They had much better habitations, though all of straw, of better form, and better furnished. They likewise seemed to be more industrious than their neighbors; they had much cotton in their huts, spun, and ready for spinning, and cloths of the same, so well woven as not to be at all inferior to those of Castile. The captive women, being asked who these people were, who held them in captivity, answered that they were Caribs: and when they came to understand that the Castilians held them in abhorrence for their evil custom of eating human beings, they were greatly rejoiced. When any Carib men or women were brought on board, they privately told some of the men that they were Caribs, and although under the protection of the Cas-

tilians, they seemed still to have a great fear for them. The Caribs were distinguished from the others, by their wearing on each leg two bands of cotton cloth, the one at the knee, and the other at the ankle; by which means the calf of the leg became very large, and the parts confined by the bandages very much contracted. This they appeared to regard as a beauty, in addition to its serving as a mark by which they might know each other. Such are the Caribs, who have this evil custom.

The island of which I have been speaking, is called Quaxuquena; the one which was first discovered, Quaxiqui; and the remaining one, Ayan. The inhabitants of all these are of one stock, as it were, and do not harm each other, though they make war upon all the neighboring islands, going sometimes, in these expeditions, as far as a hundred and fifty leagues, with many canoes, which are small boats that they have, made each from the trunk of a single tree, as has been described in the preceding chapter. Their weapons are arrows; and in place of iron, which they do not possess, they use points made of the bones of the turtle, or the spines of a particular fish, which seem intended for the purpose, as much as if they were made of iron; with these it is easy to do much injury, and even to kill; though, to our Spaniards they are not a very formidable weapon. They make incursions into the other islands, and carry off the women that they find, especially the handsome girls, whom they keep for servants and concubines. There were more than twenty of these girls, among those that were brought on board the ships, who said the Caribs treated them with terrible cruelty, and, what seems incredible, that they were accustomed to eat the children that they had by them, and to rear only those that they had by the native women. The men that they find, they carry home, and kill them as they are wanted; and those that they are obliged to kill in order to take, they eat on the spot; and they say that there is no food in the world like the flesh of a man. This detestable custom of theirs was sufficiently proved by the bones which were found in their houses; for all that could be eaten was completely gnawed off, and nothing was left but what they could not eat for its toughness. In one of the huts, a man's neck was found boiling.

When they take any small boys, they cut off their privy members, and use them as servants till they are grown up, or till they choose to kill them, when they make a feast, and slay and eat them; but they say that the flesh of boys and women is not so good as that of men. Three of these boys escaped and came to the ships, who all had this member cut off close to the belly.

At the end of four days, the lost captain with his men returned. Their comrades had already given them up, having sent several other parties in search of them, which all came back, (one of them that same day,) without learning any thing of them. Their return caused great rejoicing on board the ships, as though a new treasure had been found. This captain and the men with him brought ten boys and women, but neither they nor the others of the exploring party could find any men, whether they had fled, or whether there were few of them at home, as the women said. The captain and his companions came back from the mountain in so forlorn a plight, that it was sad to see them. They said that they lost their way in consequence of the thickness of the forest, which was so great that they could not see the sky, and some who climbed the trees at night to look at the northern stars, could not succeed in seeing them; and if they had not come upon the sea-coast, they would not have been able to find their way back. The fleet left this island, by the grace of God, eight days after their arrival there, and about noon of the next day, having been becalmed, reached another island, not very large, twelve leagues from the last. At this island they touched, but as they found it uninhabited, having been depopulated by the Caribs, they did not stop there. The same evening they saw an island, in approaching which in the night they found shallow, and did not dare to proceed, till it should be day. In the morning another and quite a large island appeared, but they did not stop at either, wishing to make haste to carry comfort to the men who had been left in Hispaniola, in the former voyage, and whom it was not God's pleasure that they should find alive — as will be related hereafter.

The next day, they came to another island which made a fine appearance, and seemed well peopled. Here they went into port, and the Admiral sent a boat, with its comple-

ment of men, to take if possible, some of the people, in order to learn of what race they were, and also to obtain information respecting the course they should pursue, — which was necessary, notwithstanding the Admiral, though he had never made this voyage before, was directing his course very accurately, as it turned out. Some of this boat's company went on shore, and came to a village, where the people had already concealed themselves, and took five or six women and boys, most of whom they knew to be captives, such as they had found in the other island, — for here, too, were Caribs. As the boat was about returning, a canoe, in which were four men, two women, and a boy, came up from below, and as soon as they saw the ships, they were so transfixed with astonishment, that for a whole hour they did not move from the same spot, about two gunshots from the ships. Meanwhile, they were watched by the men in the boat, and by the whole fleet; and they continued so lost in wonder, marvelling what this thing could be, that the boat succeeded, without being seen by them, in coming so near to them and to the land, that they could not escape by flight, though they tried hard for it, as did the boat's company to prevent them. As soon as they saw that their flight was cut off, with great boldness they put their hands to their bows, the women as well as the men: I say with great boldness, because they were but four men and two women, against the boat's crew, and, indeed, against the whole squadron. The men in the boat were more than twenty-five, two of whom were wounded, one of them receiving two arrows, and the other, one in the side; and if it had not been that they carried shields and bucklers, and that they contrived to get so near them, and that the Indians, in their haste to attack them, overturned their canoe, more would have been wounded. After the canoe was upset, the Indians remained in the water, swimming, and as the water was shallow, and they made every effort to use their weapons, it was with great difficulty that they were taken; and after all, one of them would have escaped, if he had not been badly wounded by a thrust from a lance, of which he died.

These Caribs are distinguished from the others of whom I have spoken, by the fact that those of Cambi have their hair in great profusion, a little clipped, and on their heads various

representations of crosses and other figures, according to the fancy of each individual, which are made with sharp reeds. The Caribs, as well as all the other Indians, are without beard, it being exceedingly rare to find a man who has any; for they pluck it all out before it is grown, so that they seem never to have had any. The Caribs who were taken at this place, had their eyes and eye-brows stained, which they do, as it seems, for ornament, and in doing it they suffer terribly. One of them said that in one of these islands, called Caris, — the one which they discovered first, and which the fleet did not visit, — there was plenty of gold, and that, if they had mattocks and implements for making roads, they might carry away as much as they pleased.

The same day, the fleet set sail, at the end of six or seven hours, and after a time came in sight of another island, which lay in the way that they were to take. They came near it in the night; and the next morning reached the coast, and found it a very large island, and the land very high, and, for the most part, without trees; which they had not found to be the case with any other that they had as yet seen. They did not succeed in landing, except one caravel with lateen sails, whose crew went on shore and found fishermen's huts; but the Indian women that they carried with them said the island was not inhabited. They sailed along the coast the greater part of that day: in the evening of the next, they reached another island, called Boriqui, along which they coasted the whole of one day, and they judged that the coast extended, on that side, thirty leagues. This island is very beautiful, and apparently fertile; and is visited by the Caribs in their expeditions, who carry off great numbers of the people to be eaten. The inhabitants have no canoes, and no knowledge of navigation; but they have bows and arrows, like the Caribs, with which they fight and defend themselves, and if they chance to gain the victory over their invaders, they eat them, in the same way as the Caribs would have done with them. The squadron remained in a harbor of this island two days, during which many of the men went on shore, but could take no prisoners, for all the people fled as if afraid of the Caribs. All these islands were discovered for the first time by the Admiral in this voyage: and though they were all very beautiful, this last appeared to surpass the rest.

These are all the islands that the Admiral, in his first voyage, had left behind him, towards Spain, to be discovered; though, indeed, it is believed that there must be islands forty or fifty leagues still nearer to Spain, because, before they first came in sight of land in this voyage, they saw some pelicans flying, which are a marine bird of prey, and do not alight nor sleep upon the water. These birds were seen, in the evening, to rise very high, wheeling round and round in the air, and then set off in search of land, where they might sleep; and as it was late, they could not have gone more than twelve or fifteen leagues. This was on the right of the squadron, towards Spain; and from the circumstance all inferred that there must be land in that direction, but they did not go in search of it, because it would have taken them out of their way, and delayed them on the voyage.

The squadron left the island of Boriqui one morning, and the same day, before night, came in sight of land, which was not recognised by those who had been on the former voyage, but which, from the account of the Indian women on board, they suspected might be that Hispaniola, of which they were in search; and in fact it was the same Hispaniola, called by the Indians Artilia. Between this and Boriqui, they passed another island, — but not a large one.

CHAPTER 120.

How they came to the island of Hispaniola, and found that the men, who had been left there, had been put to death.

The Admiral, with his squadron, having thus arrived at Hispaniola, they found that part of the country, where they went into port, level, and very low: and they were all doubtful whether it was that island, for neither the Admiral nor the others had seen this part of it before. The island is very large, and is divided into provinces, the one in which they arrived being called Ahia, another, adjoining this, Sarmana, and a third, Boio. From this port, the fleet proceeded some seven leagues, to a more elevated part of the island; for the place where the men had been left by the Admiral,

might be near the middle of the island. As they were going along, to the right of the province called Samana, the Admiral sent on shore, with some little trifles, one of the Indians whom he had carried home from his first voyage. The same day, the Biscayan, who had been wounded by the Caribs who were taken captive, died ; his death being occasioned by his imprudence. As they were sailing near the coast, a boat was sent on shore to bury him, and two caravels were sent to guard the boat. As soon as the boat touched the land, a great number of Indians came to it, some of whom wore gold on their necks and in their ears. They wished to return with the Christians to the ship ; but they did not choose to take them, because they had no permission from the Admiral ; and when they found that they would not take them, two of the Indians got into a canoe, and came to one of the caravels, whose men received them on board, with their canoe, and took them to the Admiral's ship. They said, through an interpreter, one of the Indians that were brought back from Spain, that a king of that province had sent them, to learn what people they were, and that he invited them to land, and that he would give the Admiral much gold, and provisions, such as he had. The Admiral sent him some shirts, and caps, and other trifles, and said that, as he was going to the residence of Guacanarino, he could not stop ; but that, at some other time, he might be able to visit him.

The squadron continued its voyage, till it came to a harbor, which the Admiral called Mt. Juan, and in which they remained two days, to make observation of the face of the country ; for the Admiral had not yet found the spot, where he had left his infant colony. They landed, and found, near the place, a river of excellent water, but the land was all marshy and unsuited for habitation. While they were observing the river and the land, some of the men fell in with two dead bodies, the one having a noose about the neck, and the other about the foot : and the next day, they found two other bodies, farther on, one of which was in such a condition, that they could perceive that it had much beard ; which led some of the men to suspect evil, the Indians, as has been said, being all without beard, and this harbor being but twelve leagues from the place where the Christians had

been left in the first voyage. After two days, they set sail for this place, where the men had been left under protection of the Indian king of that province, called Guacanari, who appeared to be one of the principal chiefs of the island. Late in the same day, they arrived off the place, on the right, but there being shoals in the neighborhood, and it being the same place where the Admiral had lost his ship in the former voyage, they did not dare to enter the harbor till the next morning, when they might sound their way, and go in safely : so they remained, during the night, a league from land. In the evening, before they had come to anchor, a canoe appeared in the distance, and in it five or six Indians, coming in haste towards the fleet. The Admiral, supposing they would follow till they overtook it, did not choose to wait for them ; and they persevered in their attempt to reach the fleet, till they were about a gunshot from it, when they stopped, to observe the ships, and seeing that they did not wait for them, they returned.

After they had anchored, the Admiral ordered two muskets to be fired, in order to see whether the Christians, who had been left with Guacanari, would answer ; for they also had had muskets left with them : and the result of this experiment greatly afflicted the men, and excited a natural suspicion. While they were thus all filled with sadness, four or five hours having passed, the same canoe which they had before seen, came towards the fleet, the men in it calling out for the Admiral ; and the captain of one of the caravels, which they first reached, brought them to the Admiral's ship. They would not speak till the Admiral had first spoken to them, when they called for a light, that they might know him ; and after they had recognised him, they went on board his ship. One of them was a favorite of Guacanari's ; and after their first return, that evening, Guacanari had sent them back, with two baskets of gold, as presents, the one for the Admiral, and the other for the captain who was with him in the first voyage. They remained on board the ship, talking with the Admiral, in presence of all the rest, and expressing much pleasure, for three hours. Being asked concerning the Christians, who had been left there, the favorite answered that they were well, but that some of them had died from disease, and others in a quarrel, which

had broken out among them : that Guacanari was in another village, wounded in the leg ; for which reason he had not come, but would come the next day : that two other kings, the one called Taonaboa, and the other Marienia, had come to fight him, and had burned his village. The same night, they returned, saying that they would come again the next day with Guacanari ; and they departed, leaving the men on board the fleet greatly comforted. The next morning they remained waiting for Guacanari, but he did not come ; and in the mean time, some of the men went on shore, by the Admiral's command, and came to the village where Guacanari had been accustomed to reside, which they found burned, and to a house, tolerably fortified by a palisade, in which the Christians had dwelt, and which they had for their own, and this, too, they found burned and demolished. They found, also, some watch-cloaks and other garments, which the Indians had brought and thrown into the house. The Indians that they saw, were very shy, and would not venture to approach the Christians ; but by throwing them beads, and hawk's-bells, and other trinkets, they allured to them a kinsman of Guacanari, and three others, who went on board the boat, and were carried to the ship. Being asked concerning the Christians, they answered that they could not have believed what had happened. The kinsman of Guacanari, being asked who had killed them, said it was King Caonaboa and King Marienia ; that they had burned the dwellings of the village, that many had been wounded, that Guacanari was so at that time in another village, and that he would go immediately and bring him. After something had been said in reply, he departed forthwith for the place where Guacanari was, and they remained, all the rest of that day, waiting for him, but he never came.

The next day the Admiral went on shore, with some of his men, to the place where the town had stood, and where the Christians had been left, and found it entirely consumed : they saw the garments of the Christians in the grass, but found no dead body. Some suspected that Guacanari had slain them : — others asked, why should he burn his own town ? The Admiral commanded that all the place, where the Christians had fortified themselves, should be dug over, because he had directed them, as soon as they obtained any

considerable amount of gold, to bury it: and while this was going on, he went to visit a place, a league distant, which had seemed to him a good site for building a town. They came to a hamlet, of seven or eight huts, the Indians in which fled, as soon as they saw them, carrying off whatever of their property they could, and leaving the rest hidden in the grass near their huts. These were a race so brutish, that they had not sense enough to know where to steal to advantage: and being upon the sea-coast it was surprising to see how like brutes they lived, their huts filled with grass round about, and so mean, that it is a wonder how they lived. Here they found many things that had belonged to the Christians, such as a Moorish robe, which had never been unfolded, but remained just as it had been brought from Castile, and hose, and a part of the ship that was lost in the first voyage, and pieces of cloth, and other things: they found also some things, which had been kept with great care by the natives,—a little wicker vessel, much mended, and the skull of a man, very choicely kept, which they supposed might be that of a father, or mother, or of some king, preserved as a relic, agreeably to some custom of the country. From this place, the Admiral and his companions returned to the spot where the town had stood, and found many Indians, with the men whom he had left there digging in search of any gold which might have been hidden there by the Christians; and they had assisted them in finding gold to the amount of a mark's weight,* and had shown them where were the dead bodies of the Christians, already covered by the grass, which had grown above them. These Indians all said, with one voice, that Caonaboa and Marienia had slain them; but they declared that the Christians kept three or four wives each, which, with the jealousy excited by their doings with the Indian women, and some outrages committed by them, which had aroused the people to put them to death, had been the cause of the calamity, that had befallen these unhappy men.

The next morning, because he had no convenient place, in which to remain till he could ascertain the truth of all this, the Admiral sent a caravel to explore in one direction, while

* Eight ounces.

he himself went in the opposite ; and he found a very safe harbor, with a shore excellently suited for mooring vessels. When he returned, the caravel, which had taken the other direction, and in which had gone Melchor, and four or five others, all cavaliers of worth, had already arrived. As these were coasting along, a canoe came towards them, with two Indians, one a brother of Guacanari, whom a pilot on board the caravel recognised, and called out "Who goes there?" They answered, as the pilot said, that Guacanari begged them to come on shore, to the place where he was residing, which was a town of some sixty dwellings. The principal men in the caravel went on shore, to the place where Guacanari was, and found him lying in his bed, playing the part of a sick and wounded man. They conversed with him, asking concerning the Christians, and in reply, he told the same story as the rest ; that Caonboa and Mariena had killed them, and had wounded him in his thigh, which he showed them, bound up, so that they believed it was as he said. When they took their leave, he gave each one a trinket of gold, according to what he supposed to be the rank of each, judging from their dress. The Indians wrought the gold into very thin leaves, for masks ; they also fashioned it to be worn upon the head, and to hang from the ears and nostrils ; and for all these purposes, they wrought it with much delicacy, as, indeed, they must. They kept none of it as an article of wealth, or a thing of great value, but only for its beauty.

Guacanari, by signs, or as he best could, desired his visitors to ask the Admiral to come and see him, as he was thus wounded ; and as soon as the Admiral arrived, they told him their adventure, and the Admiral determined, the next morning, to go as Guacanari requested. He arrived at the place, with his companions, within three hours, the distance from the fleet being about three leagues. When they arrived, it being the hour for eating, the Admiral ate before landing, and then immediately ordered all the captains to put off in their boats for the shore ; for, before they started, that morning, Guacanari's brother had come to speak with the Admiral, and urge him to make haste to go where Guacanari was. The Admiral went on shore, and with him all his men of note, in such gallant trim, that even in a large

city they would have made a fine appearance. He took some things with him for a suitable present to Guacanari; for, they had already received a considerable quantity of gold from him, and it was proper to make some return for his courtesy. When the Admiral, with his captains and men of note, arrived at the house in which Guacanari was, they found him lying in his bed, which was made of cotton, like a net, and suspended in the air, as is the custom of these people. He did not rise, but made a salutation in his bed as well as he knew how. He spoke with much feeling, and with tears in his eyes, of the death of the Christians, and began to tell how some of them had died of disease, and how others had gone to Caonabo's country to seek for gold mines, and had been put to death there, and the rest had been attacked and slain in their own town. From the appearance of the dead bodies, this might have happened two months before.

At this time, Guacanari gave the Admiral eight marks and a half of gold, and five or six belts, set with stones of various colors, and a cap, wrought in the same style; which last he gave him with great veneration. Among those who were present, were the Doctor Chanca from Seville, and another surgeon of the squadron; and the admiral told Guacanari that these were men skilful in curing diseases and injuries, and that he had better show them his wound. He answered that he would gladly do so. The Doctor told him it would be necessary that he should, if possible, go out of the house, which was too dark for him to see well; which he immediately did, (I believe, rather from embarrassment than from inclination,) leaning upon the Doctor. When he was seated, the surgeon came, and began to unbind him; and then Guacanari told the Admiral that the wound had been made by a stone. The bandages being removed, the doctor and the surgeon examined him, and found nothing the matter with that leg, more than with the other; though he pretended that it was very painful. This certainly increased the suspicions of these two men; but with all this, a cautious man could not easily determine what was the truth in this matter, the facts, from which to judge, being involved in such obscurity; for certainly there were many things to show that a hostile people had been there. The

Admiral himself did not know what to do ; but it seemed to him, as to many others, that for the present, until the truth could be satisfactorily ascertained, it would be best to dissemble, for that after the truth should be known, whoever chose might seek satisfaction.

In the evening, Guacanari went with the Admiral to the ships, and they showed him the horses, and other things on board, at which he was greatly astonished, as something very strange. He took some refreshment on board, and returned, the same evening, to his house. The Admiral told him that he wished to live there with him, and to build houses there : he answered, that this pleased him, but that the place was unhealthy, on account of its being damp, which it certainly was. All this passed through interpreters, two Indians, who had been carried to Seville by the Admiral, and brought back by him : and these two were all that remained of seven, that left Seville, five having died on the voyage ; and these escaped by a miracle, having been in great danger. The next day, they remained at anchor in the harbor. Guacanari wished to know when the Admiral would leave ; he sent him word that he should depart the next day ; and the same day Guacanari's brother, before spoken of, and others, came to the ship, and brought gold with them. There were in the ship ten of the captive women, that had been taken in the islands of Berriquen ; and this brother of Guacanari spoke to them, and suggested to them a plan, which they put in execution that night, as follows : when the men were in their first sleep, they let themselves down, very quietly, into the water, and swam to land ; and when it was discovered, two of them had already escaped, and the rest had gone so far that the boats could recover only four, whom they took as they came out of the water. The distance which they swam was a long half-league. The next morning, the Admiral sent to tell Guacanari to send back these women, who had escaped the preceding evening, or direct instant search to be made for them ; but when the messengers came to the village, they found it deserted, and not a single person in it.

This day, the squadron remained in port, the weather not being favorable for going out. The next morning, the Admiral sent all the boats in search of a harbor ; and they

coasted along, looking a favorable spot for a settlement. The Indians of this neighborhood had not become familiar with the Castilians, and they came to a village from which all the inhabitants had fled : here they found, at a distance from the huts, stretched out upon the mountain, an Indian, wounded in the shoulders by a dart, so that the breath was expelled through the wound, which had prevented his fleeing farther. The natives of this island of Hispaniola (called by them Ayte) fight with darts, or sharp sticks, which they throw with straps, as our boys do here in Castile. They throw them very far, and with sufficient accuracy to do great mischief to people who have no armor. This wounded Indian told the Admiral that Caonboa and his men had wounded him, and had burned the dwellings of Guacanari ; so that, with their imperfect knowledge of the facts, and the uncertainty of the whole matter, the Admiral and all the rest were left in doubt, and could not satisfy themselves how the death of the Christians had happened.

Not finding a healthy site for a settlement in this region, the Admiral determined to return, by the coast, to the place where he had first touched on his arrival from Castile ; because the accounts of gold had reference to that quarter. The weather was so unfavorable, and the way so long, that three months had passed before they landed : and it pleased our Lord that, in consequence of this bad weather, which did not suffer them to go farther, they should land in the best place that could have been selected, where there was a large harbor, and a good and abundant fishery, of which they stood much in need, for they had become tired of their meat, and could obtain none in all this island, which was so richly adapted to produce everything. Close at hand was a large river, and hard by another, of considerable size, of very excellent water. Here he commenced building a city, to which he gave the name of Isabella, upon the river emptying into the sea, in a very beautiful situation, where an open plain extended to the water, bounded by a ridge of sharp rocks, so that on this side there was no need of any other defence. The other side was surrounded by a thicket, so close that a rabbit could hardly make his way through it, and so green, that at no season could it be set on fire. They began by sowing a variety of garden-seeds, which they had

brought from home ; and they grew more in eight days than they would have done in Castile in twenty. The laying out and commencement of the settlement having been made, the Admiral set about forming acquaintances with the captains or kings of the region, who are there called *Caciques*. They brought him their articles of food, and many Indians were continually coming to barter, with gold, or loaded with *maize*, which is an excellent vegetable, like cole-wort, growing under ground, from which they prepare various kinds of food which are very nourishing, and upon which these people sustain themselves, in the room of bread. There is another vegetable, which they call *ajes*, and which likewise grows under ground ; and another called *cazari* ; with many other kinds of vegetables and fruits, all very different from those which we have here in Castile.

What could be learned concerning this people, was, that they were very simple and ignorant, and felt no shame in going about naked as they were born. The women, for the most part, wore a mantle of cotton, bound about the hips, or a skirt made of the leaves of trees. Their ornament consisted in painting themselves, some black, others white, and red, and other colors, in such variety, that it was a laughable thing to see them. Their heads were shaved in spots, and in spots locks of hair were left, in more ways than can be described : and whatever our men did to their heads, they thought it would bring good luck if they should do it to theirs. Indeed, it seemed that these people, if they could have understood our language, would have wished at once to become Christians ; for whatever they saw the Christians do, they did the same ; kneeling, clasping their hands, repeating the paternoster, the ave-maria, and other prayers, crossing themselves, and saying that they wished to be Christians. They were in fact idolaters, for in their houses were images of various sorts, all very deformed and ugly. They also carried these shut up in cases, and in belts of cotton ; and being asked what they were, they answered "*Ture*," which means something belonging to heaven ; and if the Christians would take these images away from them, telling them they were a detestable thing, and they should throw them in the fire, they manifested much sorrow, and it seemed that they felt much devotion towards them. They

thought, moreover, that the Castilians, and everything which they had, had all come from heaven, and they called them all "*Turey*," which means, in their language, heaven.

As soon as they had established themselves, and commenced their settlement, the Castilians spread themselves over this region, and soon saw the admirable things which were to be found in this island, or rather, this province. They found that there were trees, which bore wool, and very fine too, so that those who understand the art say that very rich cloths may be made from it; and these trees are so numerous that whole caravels might be freighted with the wool. It is difficult to gather it, because the trees are very thorny; but a way of doing it might easily be devised. They saw an immense quantity of cotton, upon trees, which produce it perpetually, and which are of the size of a peach-tree: also trees which bore wax, like that of bees in color and taste, and burning like it,—there being little difference between the two. There are an infinite number of trees producing excellent and very fine turpentine: a great deal of gum tragacanth, also very good: and trees, which appeared to the naturalists who went out in the fleet, to be the same which bear the nutmeg, except that they were without fruit; and they judged them to be the same from the taste and smell of the twigs and the bark. They saw a root of ginger, which an Indian carried suspended from his neck: there are also aloes, not like those which have been seen in Castile, but undoubtedly a species of the same plant. They found, also, a kind of cinnamon, though not so fine as that which is brought by way of Alexandria; which may be owing to its not being gathered at the proper season, or perhaps to the nature of the soil. There are likewise the lemon-colored myrobalans, but they found none except under the tree, and the ground being very moist, these were spoiled: they had a very bitter taste, which they supposed to be owing to their being spoiled; for in everything except the taste, they were like the genuine myrobalans. There is pepper, also, very good, and twice as strong as that which we use. It grows upon bushes, like a garden-plant, is not so hard as that which is brought to us from Alexandria, and a little larger, and is considered very medicinal and very valuable by the Indians, who plant and gather it.

As the people of all these islands are destitute of iron, it is wonderful to see their tools, which are of stone, very sharp and admirably made; such as axes, adzes, and other instruments, which they use in constructing their dwellings. Their food is bread, made from roots, which God has given them instead of wheat; for they have neither wheat, nor rye, nor barley, nor oats, nor spelt-wheat, nor panic-grass, nor anything resembling them. There is *cassavi*, which is collected in clusters, resembling the panic-grass, except that the grains are larger and whiter. There is also *maize*, and *ajies*, and other vegetables and roots, upon which they have lived, up to this time, and other healthful fruits and articles of food, which God has given them, wherewith to nourish and sustain themselves, and with which they have nourished and sustained themselves since God our Lord placed them there. No kind of food, which the Castilians had as yet tasted, was like anything that we have here. There were no beans, nor chick-peas, nor vetches, nor lentils, nor lupines, nor any quadruped or animal, excepting some small dogs, and the others, which look like large rats, or something between a large rat and a rabbit; and are very good and savory for eating, and have feet and paws like rats, and climb trees. The dogs are of all colors, white, black, &c. There are lizards, and snakes, but not many, for the Indians eat them, and think them as great a dainty, as partridges are to the Castilians. The lizards are like ours in size, but different in shape;—though, in a little island, near the harbor called Mt. Juan, where the squadron remained several days, a lizard was several times seen, as large around as a young calf, and as smooth as a lance; and several times they undertook to kill it, but could not, on account of the thickness of the trees; and it fled into the sea. Besides eating lizards and snakes, these Indians devour all the spiders and worms that they find, so that their beastliness appears to exceed that of any beast.

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The Admiral had with him on this voyage, as I have said, seventeen vessels, of which four were ships, and thirteen caravels, and on board them, twelve hundred fighting men, to remain there and prosecute the conquest of the country, and to learn the truth concerning the gold, and to obtain it for the King and Queen, either by consent of the inhabitants,

or by force. He also brought out twenty-four horses, ten mares, and three mules, swine, goats, cows, and sheep, a few of each, for breeding, for which the country was very well suited, being much more healthy for animals than for men. The Admiral had determined to send back the vessels to Castile, before going to search for the gold mines, according to the information which he had obtained from the Indians. One of these mines was in Cibao, which is a province abounding in gold, and the other in the dominions of King Caonaboa, who was very powerful in that country. They met with many indications that much gold was to be found in the country: in more than fifty rivers, and brooks, and springs, they found much gold, which might be collected; and samples were brought from all parts: and they believed that when they had gained possession of the country, great quantities of gold might easily be obtained, since it was found in the sands of the streams, and the Indians did not dig more than a foot into the earth, having no implements for the purpose.

Having obtained this information, the Admiral despatched the vessels for Castile, keeping such as he thought necessary; and he sent all the gold he could obtain, for the King and Queen. The ships arrived at Cadiz, where they did not dare to land till the bishop Don Juan de Fonseca should be there, that they might deliver to him the gold. This form was afterwards kept up, and all the vessels which came from the Indies, went into Cadiz, and there delivered what they had brought to this dignitary, until their Highnesses promoted him to a higher office than this, and raised him to the honor, which he deserved, of being their Ambassador to the Emperor of Flanders, to treat concerning the intermarriage of their children. They created him Bishop of Badajoz, and afterwards of Cordova, and afterwards of Valencia, advancing him from good to better; and all these dignities were worthily sustained. After he relinquished the charge of the fleets, and the reception of the gold, other forms and regulations were established for its reception. In this same year, 1494, in which the vessels arrived from the Indies, leaving in Hispaniola the Admiral and his men, commencing the building of their town, Don Juan de Fonseca sent another squadron with supplies for this colony, of bread,

wine, and other provisions, which came in good time, and were of great use to them. The vessels arrived from the Indies in March, 1494, and the squadron with the provisions was despatched a few days afterwards.

The Admiral had not forgotten the death of the thirty-nine men who had been slain, but made investigation, and ascertained from the Indians themselves, who it was that had killed them. He made incursions into the interior, and captured vast numbers of the natives; and the second time that he sent home, he sent five hundred Indian men and women, all in the flower of their age, between twelve years and thirty-five, or thereabouts, all of whom were delivered at Seville to Don Juan de Fonseca. They came, as they went about in their own country, naked as they were born; from which they experienced no more embarrassment than the brutes. They were sold, but proved of very little service, for the greater part of them died, from the climate.

A division arose between the Admiral and some of the men under his command, who were unwilling to obey, and who said that the King and Queen had been deceived in being told that there was so much gold in the country: they declared that this was not true; and that if there really was any gold, it would cost as much and more than it was worth, to find and obtain it. Many persons here in Castile gave credit to this representation, and there was great murmuring against the Admiral. He, as sovereign over these men, sent several of them home as prisoners, and among them, Fernin Zedo, a citizen of Seville, who had gone out as an artisan to detect and refine the gold, and who now scoffed at the idea of gold, and said, as did others, that the gold which the Indians had, and had given to the Admiral, had been in their possession a long time, and had been handed down in succession from their ancestors. The Admiral also sent Bernardo de Piza, *alguacil* of the court, and others, who were delivered as prisoners at Seville. Hence arose many complaints against the Admiral, and all very unjust, as the truth afterwards appeared. All this happened after he had gone to discover the continent at the south, where he was detained four or five months of the year 1494.

CHAPTER 121.

How the Admiral went to search for gold, in the province of Cibao ; and what he thought of the country ; and of the fortress, which he built.

After the departure of the vessels, as above related, from the infant city of Isabella, under the command of Antonio de Torres, brother of the nurse of the Prince Don Juan, which was on the 3d of February, 1494, the Admiral bestirred himself in fortifying the city, and arranging various matters, which were calculated to improve the condition and manner of living of its inhabitants. Having done something towards this, he set out, on the 12th of March, with the requisite number of men, both foot and horse, to visit the province of Cibao, distant from the city eighteen leagues, towards the south. He arrived at the province, after crossing a level tract, and passing several harbors, to which he made a level road : and here in Cibao he built a fortress, in which he placed a number of men, with a magistrate, and workmen for the building, in order to subdue the people of this region.

Cibao, the name of the province, signifies *rocky* ; for the country is very much broken into hills and mountains, very high, and covered with rocks, though, for the most part, not very rough ; without trees, but not without grass, for the country is very fertile in grass, which resembles the panic-grass, but is thicker, and grows higher than corn, in some places reaching to the horses' saddles ; and so it continues at all seasons, unless it is burned. Under this grass, all these mountains and hills are full of *gijjarros* (?) * large and round as those in rivers, or on the sea-shore, all, or the greater part of them blue. The whole province is a very strong country, and easily defended, temperate and very salubrious, and it rains there very frequently. At the foot of each hill, is a brook or river, small or large, according to the size of the mountain : the water is pure, pleasant to the taste, cold, and not harsh, like some other waters, which are injurious to the constitution, but, on the contrary, it is medi-

* Guijarros ? Pebbles.

cinal, and a remedy for the stone, many persons having been cured by it. In all these brooks and hills there is much gold, in grains.

CHAPTER 122.

Of the gold, and the experiments made upon it ; and how the Indians collected it.

The fortress, which the Admiral built in Cibao, he called St. Thomas ; and while he was there, engaged in the building of it, many Indians came, eager for the hawk's-bells and other trifles, none of which were given them, till they had first brought gold ; and when this was told to them, they ran to the river, and in less than an hour each one of them would bring back a leaf, or a shell, full of grains of gold. One old Indian brought two grains, weighing three *castellanos* ; being larger than any that the Admiral had as yet seen, excepting one, which Guacanari had presented to him, and which he had sent by the captain Antonio de Torres to the King and Queen, with other smaller ones. The greater part of these had been melted down, if Fernin Zedo was to be believed, who passed for a man of great science in relation to gold, though he was mistaken in this case, for the grains were native, and had not been melted ; and it afterwards turned out that Fernin Zedo knew very little about the matter. He also told the Admiral that some of the grains were not pure gold, but had been adulterated with brass ; for saying which he had no authority, and here too he was wrong, for it was ascertained that the foreign substance came from the mine, where the gold was found ; and besides, it is not probable that the Indians would mix brass with gold, since they value the former a hundred times more highly than the latter.

When he received the two grains from the old man, the Admiral gave him a hawk's-bell, which he took with as great joy, and was as well pleased, as if he had had a present of a rich town. He told the Admiral that these grains were small, in comparison with some that there were in his country, which was five leagues distant ; and he repre-

sented their size by stones as large as a walnut, saying that he had found grains of that size, and larger. Others said that grains were sometimes found as large as an orange, and larger; and others had seen them as large as a stone which they pointed out, and which weighed a dozen pounds. The largest which has actually been seen, up to this time, was a grain of eight *castellanos*.

The Indians, hereabout, are a brutish race, lazy, and averse to labor, which disposition they manifest in relation to dress; for their winter is quite cold, and they, although they have no wool, have abundance of cotton, with which they might clothe themselves, and make much cloth, and defend themselves from the weather; but their indolence makes them prefer to go about like brutes, suffering from the cold and the heat. The Admiral returned to the city of Isabella, from Cibao, leaving the party there in good condition, in order to go and discover the Indian continent; thinking that in this way he might find the great and very rich city of Cathay, which is in the dominions of the Grand Khan.

CHAPTER 123.

How the Admiral went on a Voyage of Discovery.

The Admiral set out, to discover the Indian continent, on the 24th day of April, 1494. He left in the city as president, his brother, a friar, who was called Brother Benedict: and he prescribed the duties, which each one was to perform. He took with him three caravels, having the common sails, and in a few days arrived at the very excellent harbor of St. Nicholas, which was in the island of Hispaniola, over against cape Alfaito, in Juana, which was supposed to be an island, but which was in fact a continent, this being the extreme cape of the Indies in this direction. For this cape he steered, and arrived there, and instead of following the northern coast, as he had done in his former voyage, sailed towards the west along the other coast, on the southern side. Both these coasts run towards the west, the one a little to the north, and the other to the south; for the land is narrow at first, and widens as you go on. Leaving the land on his

right, the Admiral sailed on, thinking to run round the island, and then proceed from the cape on his proposed voyage, the object of which was to seek the province and city of Cathay, which he said might be reached by this route. This province is in the dominions of the Grand Khan, and, as described, by John de Mandeville, and others who have seen it, is the richest province in the world, and the most abundant in gold, and silver, and other metals, and silks. The people are all idolaters, and are a very acute race, skilled in necromancy, learned in all the arts, and courteous : and of this place many marvels are written, which may be found in the narrative of the noble English knight, John de Mandeville, who visited the country, and lived for some time with the Grand Khan. Whoever wishes to inform himself on this subject, may read the 85th, 87th, and 88th chapters of his book, where he will find that the city of Cathay is very noble and rich, that the province takes its name from the city, and that both province and city are in the region of the Indies near the country of Prester John, and in the northern part of the continent, where the Admiral sought for them.

It must needs have taken a long time to reach this place, for the Grand Khan was anciently lord of the people of Bu-hia and Bahia, and we may say that the great Tartary begins from the boundary of Hungary, which is a country lying, in relation to Andalusia, in the direction in which the sun rises in the month when the days are longest ; and in that direction merchants are accustomed to go to the country. By the route which the Admiral had taken in his search for Cathay, it is my belief that after going round the earth, by sea and land, twelve hundred leagues farther, he would not have reached it. And so I told him, and made him know and understand, in the year 1496, when he first returned to Castile after this expedition, and when he was my guest, and left with me some of his papers, in presence of Don Juan de Fonseca. From these papers I have drawn, and have compared them with others, which were written by that honorable gentleman, the Doctor Chanca, and other noble gentlemen, who were with the Admiral in the voyages already described. From these I have obtained my information : and I have written this account of the Indies, as a wonderful and notable matter, which it pleased our Lord to

bring to light in the happy reign of Queen Isabella, the first wife of King Ferdinand.

The Admiral, supposing Juana to be an island, proceeded along the coast, a great distance. He inquired of the Indians, whether it was an island or a continent; but they are a stupid race, who think that all the world is an island, and do not know what a continent is; who have no written language, nor records of antiquity, and delight in nothing else but in eating and in women: and so they said that it was an island, though some said it was an island which he could not sail round in forty moons. As he followed the coast, the land continued to stretch out more and more, on the south, so that he thought it best to return to Juana, and sail west, and thence north; in which way he thought he might find the noble city and most rich province of Cathay. He was obliged to follow a route, which led him farther from the land, and enabled him to discover the island of Jamaica, whence he returned, and sailed along the coast of the continent seventy days, going very near the Aurea, at the end of which time, he turned back, from fear of the weather, the great length of the voyage, and the want of provisions. While on this voyage, it occurred to him that, if he should be prospered, he might succeed in returning to Spain by the east, going to the Ganges, thence to the Arabian gulf, thence, by land, from Ethiopia to Jerusalem, and to Joppa, where he might embark on the Mediterranean, and arrive at Cadiz. The passage might certainly be made in this way, but the part of it made by land would be very perilous, for from Ethiopia to Jerusalem the inhabitants are all Moors. Moreover, it might be accomplished wholly by water, by going to Calaud, which is a city discovered by the Portuguese; and in order not to go by land, but all the way by water, it would be necessary to sail round the country of the negroes, and return by the way by which the Portuguese come from Calaud with their spices. Suffice it to say, that the Admiral, after having proceeded in this voyage, three hundred and twenty leagues, of four miles each, from cape Alfaeto, returned by a different route from that by which he went. As he passed this cape, which is at the extremity of the land called Juana, he erected crosses there, and took possession for their Highnesses; which was well done, since this cape appeared to

be the extreme point of the continent at the west, between which and cape St. Vincent, in Portugal, is embraced the entire population of the world: so that whoever will set out from cape St. Vincent, may go constantly towards the east, without crossing any sea, till he arrives at cape Alfaeto; and may return again, in the same way to cape St. Vincent:— and may God speed him on his journey.

CHAPTER 124.

How the Admiral came to a country, where the trees bear fruit twice a year: of the fishes and serpents which they found: and how they went to Jamaica.

To go back, and state more particularly the islands, lands, and seas, which the Admiral discovered in this voyage:— he pursued his course, as it has been described, till he came to a large and most excellent harbor, which he called Puerto Grande. In this country, the trees and plants bear fruit twice in the year; a fact which was satisfactorily ascertained: and from these fruits a most delicious odor arose, which could be perceived at some distance on the water. There were no habitations in this harbor, but as they went in, they saw several fires burning, close to the water, and a dog, and two beds, but no men. They landed, and found more than four quintals of fish, upon spits, before the fires, and rabbits, and two serpents; and very near they saw, at the foot of the trees, in many places, a great many serpents, the most nasty, hideous, ugly creatures, that any human being ever saw, all with their mouths sewed up. They were all of the color of dry wood, the skin of the whole body very much wrinkled, especially on the head, where it came down over the eyes, which were terribly venomous; and all were covered with very hard shells, like the scales of a fish, and from the head to the end of the tail, along the middle of the body, were long, ugly projections, sharp as points of diamond. The Admiral ordered the fish to be taken, and with them refreshed his men. Afterwards, as they were going in a boat in search of a harbor, there came from a point of the highlands a great number of people, to whom they made signs

that they should approach ; and one of them did so. The Admiral had an Indian, whom he employed as an interpreter, one of those that had been to Castile, and who understood the Castilian language very well, and also that of the Indians. The strange Indian spoke from the summit of a rock ; and when he heard the other, he lost his fears, and called his companions, who were about seventy men, and who said that they were going hunting,* by command of their cacique, for a feast which he wished to make. The Admiral commanded that hawk's-bells and other little trinkets should be given them, and begged them to pardon him for having taken their fish, saying that he had touched nothing else ; and when they learned that he had not taken the serpents, they rejoiced greatly, and replied that he was welcome to what he had taken, and that they would fish again that night.

The next day, before sunrise, the Admiral set sail from this place, towards the west, following the coast of the country, which they saw to be very beautiful, and thickly settled. As they perceived the vessels, great numbers of men and boys, small and great, came running to the shore to see them, bringing bread and other things to eat, showing the bread and gourds full of water, and crying " Eat, take, people from heaven ! " — they asked them to land, and go to their houses ; and some came in canoes for the same purpose. In this way they sailed along, till they came to a gulf, where there were a vast number of villages, and the lands and fields all looked like the most beautiful gardens in the world ; the land being elevated and mountainous. They anchored here, and immediately the people of the region came, and brought them bread, water, and fish. At day-break the next morning, they departed, and having gone as far as to a certain cape, the Admiral determined to quit this route, and sail towards the south, in search of Jamaica : and the wind being propitious, at the end of two days and two nights, they arrived, and landed in that island.

This is the most beautiful country that eyes have seen : it is not mountainous, though the land appears to approach the heavens : it is very large, larger than Sicily, being eight hun-

* Probably for fish :—see *post*, chap. 126.

dred miles in circuit : it is filled with valleys, and fields, and plains, and is fertile beyond measure ; so that even to the water's edge, as well as in the interior, it is covered with settlements, very extensive, and not more than a quarter of a league from each other. They have more canoes here, and larger, than in any other region hitherto discovered, each made in one piece, from the trunk of a tree ; and each cacique in all that neighborhood has a large canoe, which he takes as much pride in using, as a nobleman here would take in keeping a large and beautiful ship. They have them wrought, from stem to stern, with various figures and paintings, so that their beauty is admirable. The Admiral measured one of the large ones, which was ninety-six feet long, and eight feet wide.

CHAPTER 125.

Of the Island of Jamaica.

As soon as the Admiral approached the land, in this island of Jamaica, immediately there came out against him, a league into the sea, some seventy canoes, filled with men armed with darts, in warlike array ; but when they saw that the Admiral and his men, with their three caravels, went on their way without noticing them, they were frightened, and took to flight. He kept his caravels in order, and a herald came off to one of them, and people with him, to whom the Admiral gave clothing, and many other things which they prized very highly, and dismissed them. He anchored at a village, to which he gave the name of Santa Gloria, as showing his sense of the beauty of the glorious country ; for the gardens of Valencia are not to be compared to any part of this whole island. They slept there that night, and the next morning, at daybreak, went to search for a secure harbor, for the purpose of cleaning and repairing the vessels. Having gone four leagues towards the west, they found a most excellent harbor, and the Admiral having sent a boat to explore the entrance, there came out against it two canoes, with many men in them, who threw a great many darts at the boat, but fled immediately, as soon as they saw signs of

resistance, though not so swiftly as entirely to escape chastisement.

The Admiral entered the harbor and anchored ; and so many Indians came down to the shore, that they completely covered it. They were painted with a thousand colors, but the greater part black, and all naked, according to their custom : they wore feathers of various sorts on their heads, and had their breasts and bellies covered with palm-leaves : they made a horrible screaming, and threw their darts, but could not reach the vessels. As it would be necessary to obtain water at this place, and timber for repairing the vessels, the Admiral saw that it would not be proper to let these men go, without such punishment for their boldness, as would make them more cautious in future. In order to let them know something of the arms of Castilians, they came near them with their cross-bows, and when they had made some good shots, and the Indians were becoming terrified, they leaped on shore, discharging their cross-bows as they went. When the Indians saw that the Castilians were coming upon them, they all took to flight, men and women, so that not one remained in the whole region ; and a dog, which had leaped from one of the vessels, followed them, and bit them, doing them great injury ; for one dog, against the Indians, is worth ten men.

The next day, before sunrise, six of these Indians came to the shore, calling aloud, and saying to the Admiral that all the caciques begged him not to land, and that they would come to see him, and bring bread, and fish, and fruits. This message greatly pleased the Admiral, who pledged to them his friendship and his faith ; and the caciques, with many Indians, came to him, and brought a great supply of provisions, with which the men were greatly refreshed, having abundance of everything, as long as they remained there ; while the Indians were much pleased with the things which the Admiral gave them. And the vessels being repaired, and the men rested, they departed from this place.

CHAPTER 126.

Of a great number of Islands, which were Discovered.

The Admiral set sail, with his three caravels, and sailed twenty-four leagues towards the west, as far as the gulf Buen Tiempo ; and the weather being unfavorable for following the coast of Jamaica,—respecting which island they had ascertained, that there was no gold in it, nor any other metal, though, for the rest, it is like a paradise, and richer than gold could make it,—he took advantage of the contrary wind to return to the continent of Juana, intending to follow its coast, which he had left, in order to ascertain whether it was a continent. They stopped in a very beautiful province, called Macaca, and anchored near a very extensive settlement, the cacique of which already knew of the Admiral and his caravels, before their arrival, having heard of his first voyage of discovery. Indeed, all the caciques of that country knew of it, and the whole country and the islands were in an uproar about so novel an affair, and about the ships, all saying that it was a people from heaven ; and this, notwithstanding the Admiral had not sailed along the coast, but the other, on the northern side. On his arrival at this place, the Admiral sent as presents to the cacique some things which these people valued very highly ; and the cacique sent refreshments, with a message, that they knew about the Admiral from hearsay, and about his father from Simon, an Indian, whom the Admiral had carried to Castile, and given to Prince John. The Admiral landed, and inquired of the cacique and the Indians of the place, whether the country was a continent or an island ; and the cacique and all the rest answered, that it was a vast country, of which nobody had seen the end, but that it was an island. These people of Juana are a very gentle race, and free from evil thoughts. There are great differences between them and the inhabitants of all the neighboring islands ; and the same may be observed in the birds and other animals, which here are of a better breed, and more tame.

The next day, they left this place, and sailed towards the north, bearing a little to the northwest, by the coast of the

country. About the hour of vespers, they saw at a distance that the coast turned towards the west, and they took that direction, in order to shorten the way, leaving the land on the right. At sunrise, the next morning, as they were looking from the topmast, they saw the sea covered with islands, twenty-four in the whole, and all green, and covered with trees; — the most beautiful sight that the eye ever beheld. The Admiral chose to go towards the south, leaving these islands on his right; for, remembering to have read that this whole sea is filled with islands in this way, and that John de Mandeville says there are in the Indies more than five thousand islands, he determined to proceed, and not give up his exploration of the continent of Juana, till he had ascertained whether it was really an island or not. The farther they went, the more islands they discovered, so that, that day, they discovered a hundred and sixty-four: and God gave them constant good weather for navigating among these islands, so that the ships, as they ran through the waters, seemed to fly. On Whitsunday, 1494, they stopped at a place which was uninhabited, — but not from the inclemency of the sky, or the barrenness of the soil, — in the midst of a large grove of palm-trees, which seemed to reach from the sea-shore to the very heavens. Two springs of water came out of the ground, their outlets being large enough to admit a large orange. When the tide was on the flood, the water spouted up with considerable force; and it was so cold and so sweet, that there cannot be better in the world; and this coldness not harsh, like that of some waters, which injure the stomach, but, on the contrary, most salubrious.

Here they all rested themselves, upon the grass about these fountains, enjoying the charming fragrance of the flowers, and the melody of the songs of the birds, so many and so sweet, and the shade of the palm-trees, so tall and so beautiful, that the whole was a wonder. There were no people here, but there were signs that men had been there, the branches of the trees being cut. From this place the Admiral went, with his boats, to visit a river at the east, a league distant, the water of which they found so warm, that one could scarcely bear his hand in it. They proceeded up the river two leagues, without meeting with people or hab-

itations ; and everywhere the country was of the same beauty, and the fields very green, but abounding in *grutas* (?) * as red as scarlet ; and everywhere the odor of the flowers, and the singing of the birds, were very sweet, as all might perceive. As the number of islands in this region was so great that he could not give to each a separate name, the Admiral called them all by the common name of *the Garden of Arms*.

On the day following, the Admiral being very desirous to find some one from whom he might obtain information, there came a canoe to hunt for fish : — for they call it hunting, and they hunt for one fish with another. They have fishes of a particular kind, which they hold by a line fastened to their tails, and which are like the conger-eel in shape, and have a large mouth armed with suckers, like the cuttle-fish. They are very fierce, like our ferrets, and when they are thrown into the water, they go to fasten themselves upon some of the fishes there, and do not let go their hold, till they are drawn out of the water. The fish is very light, and as soon as he has taken hold, the Indians draw him out by the string tied to his tail, which is very long, and immediately throw him into the water again ; and in this way, they take one every time. As these hunters were at a distance from the caravel, the Admiral sent his boats to them, contriving it so that they should not escape to land. As the boats came up to them, these hunters called out to the men, as unconcernedly as if they had known them all their lives, to stop, because one of the fishes had fastened upon a large turtle, and they must wait till they had got it into the canoe. These men, with four turtles, each of which was three cubits broad, they took on board to the Admiral ; and there they gave some account of these islands, and of their cacique, who was close at hand, and had sent them to hunt. They asked the Admiral to go on shore, and they would make for them a great feast, and would give them all four turtles apiece. He gave them many things that he had brought with him, with which they were much pleased ; and he asked them if that country was very large, — to which they answered, that, towards the west, it had no end ; and

* *Grutas* is caverns. Should we read “*Grumas* ?” clusters of grapes.

they said that all the sea, to the south and west, was full of islands. As they were going, he asked them the name of their cacique, which they told him, and returned to their fishing.

CHAPTER 127.

Of the place where the men eat Dogs, and fatten them upon fish for that purpose: and of the delicious odor of the country.

From this place, the Admiral sailed among the islands, by the most navigable channels, steering towards the west, and keeping near the coast of the continent. After having proceeded several leagues, with favorable weather, he came to a large island, at the extremity of which was an extensive settlement; where, although the weather was fine, the caravels anchored, and the men went on shore, but found nobody, all the inhabitants having fled and left the place. They seemed to be a people who had dominion over the fishes, for upon the shore were immense numbers of turtle-shells. Here also they found forty dogs, not large, nor very ugly, and which did not bark; it appeared that they had been fed and fattened upon fish; and they learned that the Indians ate them, and that they were as savory as our kids in Castile,—for some of the Castilians tasted them. These Indians had many tame herons, and various other birds, but the Admiral commanded that nothing should be taken from them. He left this place, with his vessels, and very soon they discovered another island, larger than the last, for which, however, they did not stop, but directed their course towards some very lofty mountains upon the continent, at fourteen leagues' distance. There they found a large settlement, the cacique and other inhabitants of which were very courteous and friendly, and gave the Admiral and his men excellent refreshment of bread, and fruits, and water. The Admiral asked whether the country extended far to the west; and the cacique answered that he was an old man, and had known other old men in his time, who understood such matters, and he had never heard it said that it had any end; but that he might learn how it was, from the people of Magon, farther on, a province adjoining theirs.

The next day, they sailed towards the west, always following the coast of the continent, and for several leagues constantly under a very large and lofty range of mountains, which extended far into the interior, so that the end could not be seen. On the side towards the sea were a great many settlements, from which multitudes of people came to the vessels, with fruit, bread, water, spun cotton, rabbits, pigeons, and a thousand other wonderful birds, of various kinds, unknown among us. They came singing, as if for a festival; believing that these people, with their ships, had come from heaven; and although the Indian interpreter told them that they were men of Castile, they still believed that Castile was heaven, and that the King and Queen, who were lords of the vessels and of the men, were in heaven. The name of this province, where they arrived one evening, was Ornojai. They had been sailing in shallow water, but here they could not find bottom: and the wind from the land drove them out to sea, where they lay to during the night, and the time scarcely seemed to them an hour, by reason of the delightful odor which came from the land, and the singing of the little birds and of the Indians, which was wondrously delectable. Here the Admiral was told that farther on was Magon, where the people had tails, like beasts and animals, and that, for this reason, he would find them clothed. This is not true, though it appears that these simple people believed it; and it is probable that it was first said as a joke, and in mockery of those who wore clothes; as John de Mandeville says, in the 74th chapter of his book, that in the province of Lamore, in the Indies, the inhabitants all went naked as they were born, and that they mocked at those who wore clothing, saying that they were people that did not believe in God, who created Adam and Eve, our first parents, and created them naked,—and that no one should be ashamed of what is natural. So, the inhabitants of this province of Ornojai all went naked, men and women, and scoffed at those of whom they heard it said that they wore clothes; and the Admiral understood the jest, as if they had simply said that they were clothed, and that they no more had tails than themselves. They told the Admiral that farther on there were innumerable islands, and shallow water; and that the end of this country was very distant, so

that in forty moons they could not reach it ; but they spoke with reference to the speed of their canoes, which is very small, for a caravel will go farther in one day, than a canoe in seven.

CHAPTER 128.

Of the White Sea.

The Admiral left Ornojai, with his caravels, the next day, with a favorable wind, and made great progress, until, having previously passed some shallows, he all at once entered into a sea, which was as white as milk, and thick, like the water in which tanners prepare their skins ; and immediately they found themselves in only two fathoms of water, which was much agitated by the wind. They were in a channel by which it would be very dangerous to return, and they could not anchor their vessels, because they could not turn about, nor bring them round, upon their anchors, with their heads to windward ; nor was there sufficient depth of water, for they were continually dragging their anchors. So they went on, through the channels between the islands, ten leagues, when they came to an island, where they found two fathoms and a cubit of water, and room for the caravels to remain ; and there they anchored. They were in great trouble, thinking of abandoning the enterprise, and that it would be no small achievement, if they could make their way back to the place whence they started ; but our Lord, who always succors those who are humble and of good will, gave them courage, and put into the Admiral's heart to go on. The next day, a small caravel, which had gone to the shore of this sea, to see whether they could find upon the continent any fresh water, of which all the vessels were in great need, returned, and reported that along the sea-shore the mud was very deep, and the trees grew down into the very water, so thick that a cat could not go on shore at that place. The islands here were as numerous and as near to each other, and more so, than in the "Garden" before spoken of ; and the trees stood so close along the shore, that they looked like walls ; and beyond these trees were high-

lands, and very green mountains, on which appeared many smokes and large fires. The Admiral resolved to go on, and made his way through the channels among the islands, which were as close together as in the Garden of Arms, and more so, till they came to a very low point of land, to which he gave the name of point Serafin. Here they met with great difficulties, the vessels being often aground. Within the point, the land was low, towards the east, but at a great distance to the north they discovered mountains, and without the point the intermediate space was clear of islands, which all lay at the south and west. They had a good wind, and three fathoms of water, and the Admiral determined to steer for the mountains, where he arrived the next day, and anchored by a large and very beautiful palm-grove, and where they found fountains of very sweet and good water, and indications that men had been there.

While the vessels were at this place, laying in wood and water, it chanced that a cross-bow-man, belonging to one of the caravels, went on shore with his cross-bow, to hunt; and having gone a little way, he fell in with some thirty Indians, one of whom was dressed in a white tunic, that reached to his feet; and he came upon them so suddenly, that he supposed the one who wore this garment to be a friar of the order of the Trinity, who was going in company with the others. Afterwards, there came two others in white tunics, reaching below their knees; and these men were as white as the Castilians. The cross-bow-man was frightened, and cried out, and ran fleeing to the shore: he saw that the others remained quiet, and one of those in the white tunics came towards him, and called him, but he never ventured to stop till he had reached the ships. The Admiral, when he had heard his story, sent on shore to learn who these people were; but when the messengers arrived, they found nobody: and the opinion was, that the one in the long tunic must be the cacique. On the day following, the Admiral sent twenty-five men, well armed, to go eight or ten leagues into the country, till they should find people. Having gone a quarter of a league, they came to a plain, which extended towards the west and along the coast; and not knowing their way, they undertook to cross the plain, but could not get on, and returned much fatigued; for the

grass was very thick, very high, and much tangled together, so that they could make no progress. They came back as weary as if they had gone twenty leagues; and said that in that direction it was impossible to cross the country, — that there was no road, or path of any kind. The next day, as some others were going along the shore, they found the tracks of some very large beasts, with five claws, (a terrible sight!) which they judged to be lions, griffins, or some other wild beasts, — most probably lions: — and they too came back. Here they found many vines, very large, and loaded with unripe grapes, which covered all the trees, so that it was wonderful to see them. The Admiral took a basket of these grapes, and some cuttings of the vines, and some of the white soil of the sea, to exhibit, and to send to the King and Queen. There were also many aromatic fruits as in the other places above described; and likewise *grutas* twice as large as any in Castile.

The Admiral, having thus crossed over from point Serafin, where the land declined towards the east, to the mountains at the north, followed the coast back, towards the east, till he saw that it joined the other, and was continuous with it, and then turned again to the west: and although both the vessels and the men were much worn by the voyage, he purposed to sail for some mountains, which he had seen in the west, at the distance of thirty-five leagues from the place where they had taken in their supply of water. After they had gone nine leagues, they came to a beach, where they captured the cacique of the region, who, being an ignorant person, that had never been away from these mountains, told them that towards the north the sea was very deep for a very great distance. They weighed anchor, and proceeded on their voyage very joyful, thinking to find it as he had said. But, after sailing several leagues, they found themselves entangled among a number of islands, with very little depth of water; so that they could not find a convenient channel by which to go on. After making their way, for a day and a half, through a very narrow and shallow channel, they were obliged to drag the vessels, by means of their anchors and capstans, over the bottom, nearly a fathom out of water, for two full leagues, after which they found two fathoms and a half of water, in which they sailed for two

days, and farther on, three fathoms. At this place there came to the vessels many canoes, the people in which said that the inhabitants of those mountains had a king of great authority; and they seemed to be wonderfully impressed with the extent of his dominion and the greatness of his power, saying that he had infinite provinces, that he was called "Holy," and that he wore a white tunic, which trailed upon the ground.

They pursued their course along the coast, in three fathoms of water, for four days, in which they passed the mountains, leaving them far to the east, and always found the shore low, and the trees growing close to the water's edge, as has been described, so that it was impossible to effect a landing. At the end of this time, the vessels being in a bay, where the coast turned again to the east, they saw upon a cape, at twenty leagues' distance, some very high mountains, which the Admiral determined to visit, since the sea was not open towards the north, and was of very great depth, as the cacique had said, who also told the Admiral that in the way in which he was going he would not come to the end of the land in fifty leagues; — so he had heard it said. They sailed within a great many islands, and after four days and nights, came to the mountains they had seen, and found a country as large as the island of Corsica. They went all around it, but found no spot where they could land, the shore being very muddy, and the trees very thick, as has been said of the other places: and the smokes from the dwellings of the inhabitants in the interior were large and numerous. They remained on this coast seven days, seeking for fresh water, of which they were in want, and which they found at a place towards the east, in some beautiful palm-groves, where they also found mother-of-pearl, and some very handsome pearls, and saw also that there were excellent fishing-grounds, if they were only used. After supplying themselves with wood and water, they sailed towards the south, for a considerable distance, following the coast, until it led them towards the south-west, and appeared to run in that direction for a great number of days' sail; and at the south, they saw the sea filled with islands. The vessels were in very bad condition, from thumping about in the shallows, their ropes and tackle worn out, and most of the

provisions much injured, especially the biscuit, in consequence of the leakiness of the vessels: and the men, too, were very much exhausted, afraid of their provisions failing, and likewise of the winds being, at this season, unfavorable for their return. From Cape Alfaeto to this place, they had gone twelve hundred and eighty miles, equal to three hundred and twenty-two leagues; and had discovered a great many islands, as has been related, besides their discoveries on the continent.

Then the Admiral concluded to return; and, taking a different route from that by which he had come, to go by way of Jamaica, (to which he had given the name of Santiago,) and finish the exploration of its southern coast, which he had abandoned in order to proceed on this voyage. They started on their return, expecting to pass within certain islands which were there; but they could find no channel, and were forced to turn back, by an arm of the sea, through which they had come to point Serafin, as far as the islands where they had first come into the White sea.

CHAPTER 129.

Of the Cormorants, which they saw; and the Butterflies; and the great Turtles.

To go back a little: — a day or two after the occurrence of what has been related concerning the cacique, they saw, before sunrise, more than a million of cormorants come flying over the sea, at a distance from the land, all in one body; so that they were astonished at the sight of so great a multitude of these birds. The next day, they saw from the ships so many butterflies, that they darkened the sky; and they remained till night, when a heavy rain which fell, accompanied with thunder, destroyed them. Ever since they had left the place where they were told that the “Holy” King resided, to go to Teroneso, (called by them St. John the Evangelist,) they had found, along their whole course many very large turtles; but they saw many more

in these twenty leagues, for the whole sea was solid with them, and all monstrously large, so that it seemed as if they would stop the vessels,—though they managed to get through them. The Indians value these turtles very highly, as a very good and savory article of food.

CHAPTER 130.

Of the province of Ornofai: and how the Admiral caused mass to be said there: and of the reception, which the cacique of that region gave him.

Leaving this place, they sailed through an arm of the sea, white, as it is everywhere hereabouts, and very deep; and having gone a few leagues, they came to the cluster of islands, where they had first anchored in the White sea. It was a miracle of our Lord, that brought them there, for it was not accomplished by man's wisdom or skill. Thence they proceeded to the province of Ornofai, with less peril than before, and there anchored in a river, and supplied their vessels with wood and water, in order to sail towards the south, not returning by the same route they had come, but leaving the Garden of Arms on their left. This course they pursued; but they could not omit visiting many of the islands, which hitherto, as has been said, they had not examined. The land is mountainous, and most fertile: the people are gentle, and have a great abundance of fruits and other kinds of food, of all which they gave their visitors a large share; and the fruits were very sweet and aromatic. They brought them great numbers of birds, parrots, and others, mostly pigeons, which were very large and as pleasant to the taste as our Castilian partridges: and their crops were filled with flowers, more fragrant than the orange-flower.

Here the Admiral caused mass to be said, and erected a cross, made from the trunk of a large tree, as he was accustomed to do at all the capes, where they landed. It was on Sunday, that the Admiral went on shore to hear mass; and the cacique of the region, who was a person of great distinction, and the lord of many subjects and numerous

retainers, when he saw the Admiral land from his boat, took him by the hand, and another Indian, more than eighty years old, who came with the cacique, took the other hand, with great ceremony. This old man wore on his neck a string of beads, made of marble, which these people prize very highly : and in his hand he carried a little basket of apples, which he presented to the Admiral, as soon as he landed from the boat. The cacique, and the old man, and the rest, were all naked as they were born, without showing any embarrassment ; as was also the case in all the other parts of the country discovered by the Admiral Columbus.— They continued thus holding him by the hand, with all the other Indians behind them, till they came to the place where the Admiral was to pray and to hear mass, and where he had ordered preparations to be made for the purpose. After the Admiral had finished his prayer, the old Indian, in a pleasing and confident manner, began his discourse, and said : that he had known how the Admiral was going about exploring all the Islands in those parts, and the continent ; and that his being upon the continent was known to them : he told the Admiral that he must not be vainglorious, because all the people were afraid of him, for that he was mortal, like men : and he began, by words and by signs, to explain how men were born naked, and how they had an immortal soul : that when any member was diseased, it was the soul that felt the pain : that at the time of death, and their separation from the body, these souls felt very great pain : and that they went to the King of the Heavens, or into the abyss of the earth, according to the good, or the evil, which they had done and wrought in the world : and as he perceived that the Admiral took pleasure in hearing him, he continued his discourse with greater animation, using such signs that the Admiral comprehended it all.

The Admiral replied to him through his Indian interpreter, who had been to Castile, and understood very well the Castilian language, as also that of these provinces, and who was a very good, well-disposed man ; and the answer was : that he had done no harm to any good person, but only to the bad ; and that, on the contrary, he had bestowed favors and rewards upon the good, and shown them great honor ; and that this was what his sovereigns, King Ferdinand and

Queen Isabella, the mighty rulers of Spain, had commanded him. Here the old Indian turned in great astonishment to the interpreter, and asked if this Admiral was subject to any other lord : to which the interpreter replied, "To the King and Queen of Castile, who are the greatest sovereigns in the world." And then he related to the cacique, and the old man, and the other Indians, the things that he had seen in Castile, and the wonders of Spain ; the great cities, fortresses, churches ; the people, and the horses, and other animals ; the splendor and riches of the sovereigns and the great nobles ; the various kinds of food ; the festivals and tournaments which he had seen, and the bull-fights ; and the wars that he had heard about. All this he told very well, and in an orderly manner, and the old man and the rest delighted greatly to hear it, and communicated it to each other. The old man said that he wished to go with the Admiral, to see such things as these ; and he resolved to do so, — but his wife and children wept, and so, out of his affection for them, with great reluctance he abandoned his design. The Admiral, however, took from this place a young Indian, whom he brought away quietly, and sent, with the cacique whom he had previously taken, to the King and Queen, after his arrival in Hispaniola from this voyage.

The people of all these islands, and of the continent, although they appeared brutish, and went about naked, yet seemed to the Admiral and those who were with him in this voyage, to be very sensible and sharp-witted : they all took great pleasure in learning new things, as men do among us, who are eager for knowledge ; and this must be owing to the activity and acuteness of their minds. They are very obedient and loyal to their caciques, who are their kings and lords, and whom they hold in great respect and honor. Whenever the caravels stopped at any place, they immediately gave the Indians to understand that they had come there in the name of their cacique ; and they would inquire what was the name of the cacique of the caravels, that they might repeat it among themselves ; and they repeated it to each other, so as not to forget it. Afterwards, they asked what the ships were called ; and if they came from heaven ; or whence they came ; and whether Castile was heaven ; for they had no letters, and knew nothing

about laws, or history, or what was meant by reading and writing; and of course, were very ignorant. They said that the people of Magon wore clothing, because they had tails, and in order to conceal that deformity; and among them it was considered disgraceful to be clothed, as has been before said. The land, in all the islands and countries of these seas, so far as they are known, is so fertile, that although the population should be increased a hundred fold, it would still be more than sufficient to sustain them. It may well be, that in the interior there are differences in government, and customs, and in the people themselves, and many strange things;—indeed, it cannot be otherwise;—but in this voyage, there was no opportunity to see or know of them. The Admiral took his leave of this cacique of Ornofay, and of the honored old man, his kinsman and favorite, with many professions of friendship and of obligation.

CHAPTER 131.

How the Admiral departed from this place : of the progress which he made ; and the number of miles that a caravel can sail in a day : how they came to a thickly settled island : of the cacique, who came on board one of the caravels, with his wife and family, to return with the Admiral : how they returned to Spain : the conclusion of this narrative : and the death of the Admiral.

The Admiral took his departure from the province of Ornofay, from the river, to which he had given the name of the River of the Mass, and sailed towards the south, intending to leave the Garden of Arms, which was a numerous cluster of green and beautiful islands, on the left, in consequence of the perilous navigation, which he had experienced there in his outward voyage. The winds being against them, they stopped in a large gulf, to which the Admiral gave the name of Buen Tiempo, in the province of Macaca, throughout the whole of which province, they were well received. From this place they sailed towards the west, as far as the extremity of the island, and thence south, till they

came to the province of Bojia at the east, and after some days they came to the Crystalline Mountain, and thence to point Farol, and to the shallows at the extremity of the island, eleven leagues farther to the east, where, for several days, the winds were adverse. Sailors estimate the ordinary sailing of a caravel in a day to be two hundred miles, of four to the league, or fifty leagues. This the Admiral and his men frequently accomplished, according to their reckoning, as recorded by him in the book, in which he kept an account of these things. And let it not be thought wonderful that a vessel in sailing can keep within its uncertain path, but rather let it be considered as well established; for a vessel will return many times to an island from which it has sailed, even in adverse wind and weather. Herein consists the skill of the master, and his resource in the event of a storm; and he would not be considered a good master or pilot, who, having to go from one country to another at a great distance, without sight of land between, should make an error of ten leagues, though the length of the passage should be a thousand; unless by stress of weather he should be deprived of the use of his skill.

Sailing on towards the south, they anchored, one evening, in a bay, in the neighborhood of which were many settlements, from one of which, situated in a lofty spot, a cacique came to the vessels, bringing them excellent refreshment: and the Admiral, in return, gave him and his attendants some of the things that he had with him, with which they were pleased. The cacique asked whence he had come, and what was his name; to which the Admiral answered, that he was a subject of the mighty and illustrious King and Queen of Castile, his sovereigns, who had sent him to these parts to discover and explore the country, and to show much honor to the good, and to destroy the wicked. This was communicated through the Indian interpreter; and the cacique was much pleased, and inquired of the Indian minutely about the things of this country, of which he gave an account, much in detail, to the astonishment and delight of the cacique and the other Indians. They remained till night, and then took their leave of the Admiral. The next day the Admiral left this place; and after he had already got under sail, with a light wind, the cacique, with three

canoes, came towards the ships, in such state, that I must not omit to describe his equipage. One of the canoes was very large, like a large *fusta*, and much painted: in this came the cacique himself, with his wife, and two daughters, one of whom was about eighteen years old, very beautiful, entirely naked, according to the custom of the country, and very modest; the other was younger; likewise two boys, his sons, and five of his brothers and other kinsmen: indeed all the others must have been his kinsmen and subjects. He also brought with him, in his canoe, a man who acted as standard-bearer: this man alone stood, in the bow of the canoe, wearing a loose coat of red feathers, resembling in shape those of our kings-at-arms, and on his head a large plume, which looked very well; and in his hand he bore a white banner, without any device. Two or three men came with their faces painted, all in the same way, and each of these wore on his head a large plume, in shape like a helmet, and over the face a round tablet, as large as a plate, painted likewise, and all of them in the same style, for neither in these tablets nor in the plumes was there any difference: these carried in their hands a kind of musical instrument, upon which they played. There were two others, who were also painted, but in a different fashion: these bore two wooden trumpets, highly wrought, with figures of birds and other devices, the wood being black, and very fine: each of them wore a very handsome hat of green feathers, very closely put together, and of very ingenious workmanship. Six others wore hats of white feathers, and came in a body, as the cacique's guard.

The cacique wore, suspended from his neck, a trinket made of copper, which is brought from a neighboring island, called Guani, and is very fine, resembling gold of eight carats: in shape it was like a fleur-de-lis, and as large as a plate. He wore also on his neck a string of large marble beads, which these people value very highly; and on his head a large open crown of very small green and red stones, disposed in order, and intermixed with some larger white ones, so as to look very well. He had suspended over his forehead a large jewel, and from his ears hung two large plates of gold, with rings of very small green beads: and, although naked, he wore a girdle, of the same workmanship

as the crown, all the rest of his body being uncovered. His wife was decked in a similar manner, and naked, except so much of her person as was covered by a bit of cotton, not larger than an orange-leaf. She wore upon her arms, just below the shoulder, a roll of cotton, like those on the sleeves of the ancient French doublets; and another similar roll, but larger, she wore on each leg, below the knee, — like the anklets of the Moorish women. The elder and more beautiful of the daughters was entirely naked, wearing only a girdle of stones of a single color, black, and very small, from which hung something in the shape of an ivy-leaf, of green and red stones, embroidered upon cotton cloth.

The large canoe came between the two others, and a little in advance of them: and as soon as it came up with the vessel, the cacique came on board, and began giving to the masters and each of the men something from his treasures. This was in the morning, and the Admiral was at his prayers, knowing nothing of this giving of presents, or of the purpose of the coming of this cacique, who had come at once on board the caravel, with his followers; and when the Admiral came on deck, he had sent back his attendants to the land, with the canoes, and they were already at a considerable distance. As soon as the Admiral made his appearance, the cacique came towards him, with a very joyful countenance, addressing him as follows: "My friend, I have resolved to leave my country, and go with thee, to see the King and Queen, and the Prince their son — the two greatest lords in the world, whose power is so great that they have subdued so many countries hereabouts, by means of thee, who art their subject, and goest on thy conquests by their command. This we have learned from those Indians whom thou carriest with thee, and also how everywhere the people are wondrously afraid of thee, — even the Caribs, an innumerable and very brave race, whose canoes and dwellings thou hast destroyed, and hast captured their wives and children, and slain those of them who did not escape by flight. I know that in all the islands of this region there is an infinite number of people, and a vast country; and they all stand in fear and great dread of thee, and thou canst do them much harm and injury, if they do not submit to the great King of Castile, thy lord; since thou knowest the people of these

islands, and their weakness, and art acquainted with the country. And before thou shalt take from me my lands and dominions, I wish to go with thee, in thy vessels, with my family, to see the mighty King and Queen, thy sovereigns, and the land in which they dwell, the richest and most abundant in the world, and the wonders of Castile, which are many, as thy Indian has told me." The Admiral, feeling compassion for him and for his children, and his wife, and not wishing to grieve him by a refusal, answered, that he received him as a subject of the King and Queen, and that for the present he should remain at home ; that he had yet much to do to complete his discoveries, and that when he returned, there would be an opportunity to fulfil his desire ; and he pledged to him his friendship : and so the cacique, with his family, was obliged to remain behind.

The Admiral sailed to the south and east, through these seas, among many other islands, peopled by this same naked race, as he has written ; of which, that I may not make my work too long, I omit to give an account ; suffice it to say that all the people are like those that have been described above. On his way to Hispaniola, the Admiral passed among the islands of the Caribs, where he had been in his second voyage. In Hispaniola they had already given him up, supposing that he and his vessels must be lost ; and the same belief prevailed likewise in Castile, where letters had been received from Hispaniola, stating how long a time had passed, and they had not yet made their appearance. Those who wished well to the Admiral were rejoiced at his return ; while others, who bore him no good will, were greatly vexed, because he would allow no one to appropriate anything to himself, or to make any profit by barter, but everything was for the King and Queen : which gave occasion to great murmurings against him. He found that while he had been absent on this voyage no gold had been collected, and no one had undertaken to procure it, nor did they know where to find it, or dare to search for it, for fear of the Indians. Immediately on his arrival, he set about obtaining as much of it as he could ; and as to the disaffection among his men, he punished some of them, and sent others prisoners to the King, as has been before related.

The expenses of the enterprise, thus far, had been great,

and the returns small. The suspicion that there was no gold in the country, was very general, both there and in Castile. The colonists were in want of provisions, so as, indeed, to be reduced to great straits, though they were relieved by supplies sent from this country by Don Juan de Fonseca, Bishop of Badajoz, afterwards of Cordova, and afterwards of Palencia, who had the charge of these matters. Some one was found, who persuaded the King and Queen that the expense would always be greater than the profit: they recalled the Admiral, and he arrived in Castile in the month of June, 1496, wearing the dress of an Observantine friar of the order of St. Francis, and resembling one in his appearance, little less than in his dress; with the cord of the order, which he wore from devotion. He brought with him several Indians, whom he had taken before his departure, not in fight, but by enticing them within his power; and among these were the great cacique Caonoboa, and a brother of his, and a son, about ten years old. Telling them that he would take them to see the King and Queen, and that they should return in honor and state, he brought with him Caonoboa, and his brother, about thirty years old, to whom he gave the name of Don Diego, and his nephew, a little boy, the son of another brother: and Caonoboa died on the water, from grief and vexation. This Don Diego, Caonoboa's brother, wore a collar or chain of gold, which the Admiral made him put on when they passed through the cities and villages, weighing six hundred *castellanos*; which chain I saw and took in my hands, when I had the above-named Lord Bishop, and the Admiral, and Don Diego, as guests in my house. The Admiral brought also many things used by the Indians, crowns, masks, girdles, collars, and many other things interwoven with cotton, and all having a figure of the Devil, in his own shape, or in that of a cat, or an owl's head, or something worse, cut in wood, or made in the cotton, or whatever else might be the material of the ornament. He had some crowns, with wings at the sides, on which were eyes of gold; and in particular, one crown, which he said had belonged to the cacique Caonoboa, which was very large and high, and on being struck displayed wings, like shields, with eyes of gold as large around as a drinking-cup, set in their places in a very ingenious and singular way, resembling enamelling.

This crown likewise had a figure of the Devil upon it; and it may be believed that he appeared to them in these shapes, and that they were idolaters, and had the Devil for their Lord. The Admiral presented the Indians, together with the gold and other things which he had brought with him, to the King and Queen, who received him very graciously, and took great pleasure in seeing the strange things, and in learning about his discoveries; though he did not lack enemies, who could not endure him, in consequence of his being a foreigner, and many quarrels having arisen, in the execution of his authority, among such as were arrogant and disaffected towards him. The Admiral remained at the court, in Castile and in Aragon, more than a year, the preparations for his departure being delayed by the war with France; at the end of which time he was provided with a fleet, and made his arrangements, and took his leave of their Highnesses at court, with several other captains, who were to go with him on the voyage of discovery:— and they did discover various islands.

The Admiral set sail for the Indies at the end of the month of August, in the year 1497; and came to certain islands, which he had not before visited, lying at the south near the islands of the Caribs. He likewise discovered the Pearl Islands; and he would allow the men to keep nothing for themselves, except a trifle as a specimen: this produced great dissatisfaction among the sailors, because he had told them that whatever God should give them and throw in their way, he would share with them; whereas he now said that the King and Queen had sent them on this voyage to make discoveries, and not to enrich themselves. He pursued his voyage towards Hispaniola, and on his arrival there, made arrangements with regard to the gold mines, and the settlements, to which he devoted much labor: and he found very large mines, as he believed and declared, though many, as well noblemen, as mariners, gentlemen, and the common people, did not believe it, and made a jest of what he said. Having done this, and given very judicious directions as to the manner of searching for the gold, about a year passed without their finding it in any considerable quantities; this was the year 1499; and in 1500 it began to be found in abundance. It was all collected for the King

and Queen, and those who wrought in the mines were paid something for their labor, which was performed under the Admiral's direction : all which occasioned much complaint against him. Besides this he delayed sending the gold to the King somewhat longer than he should have done, and there were those who wrote, and who came home and told the King and Queen, that he was embezzling the gold, and that he wished to give it to the Genoese, and many other stories charging him with crimes, the least of which it ought not to have been believed that he would commit. The King sent out one Bobadilla to Hispaniola, as Governor, and recalled the Admiral, whom this same Governor sent home as a prisoner, with the gold which he had. He arrived at Cadiz in the spring of the year 1501, and presented himself before the King, with the gold which he brought, and was discharged from his confinement. The King commanded him, on the ground that the royal service required it, that he should never again visit the island of Hispaniola ; and for the services which he had rendered, he confirmed him in the dignity of Admiral for ever, with its rights and profits, and ordered that he should be admitted at court, and that he might remain wherever he chose in Castile. He told him, moreover, that he must believe that, in all which he had done to him, he had shown him great honor and favor, and had removed him from the dangers which threatened him from the Castilians, who were much excited against him ; and that if he should go back, it would be impossible to prevent disturbance and violence, which would be of evil example to the Indians.

The pleasure of the King and Queen being made known to the Admiral, he entreated their Highnesses to permit him to go on a voyage of discovery by the northern route, along the right coast of the continent, which they had given him to discover ; representing to them that, although it had been his purpose to follow that course, when he was upon his expedition to the continent, he had been forced to take another route. The King gave him this permission, and he started on the voyage, with three vessels. After passing Hispaniola, he experienced many disasters, and mishaps, and storms, and found the sea very rough, so that he could not make so great progress as he desired ; and although he

discovered several islands in the course of the voyage, as he has written, he was unable to accomplish the object, which he had in view. He was detained in some of the harbors, by storms, a long time, which hindered him in his discoveries, as did also the great difficulty and labor of the navigation, and the peculiar nature of the water of those seas, which acted upon the vessels in a surprising manner, as if they had been bored by worms. They made their escape in one of the vessels to a certain island near Hispaniola, where they were in a wretched condition, of which the Governor hearing, through some Indians, he sent for the vessel, and brought her, with the men on board to Hispaniola, and thence sent them to Castile, under the charge of Diego Rodriguez, a boatswain, and a citizen of Triana, in the year 1504. And this same Admiral Christopher Columbus, of marvellously honored memory, a native of the province of Milan, the discoverer of the Indies, being in Valladolid, in the year 1506, in the month of May, died, in a good old age, being seventy years old, or thereabouts. Our Lord pardon him ! Amen.

DEO GRATIAS.

And now I do not choose to write more about the discovery of the Indies, since the story is familiar to every body, and there are many who were engaged in the discovery, that can write about it, and relate what they saw, throughout all Spain. The Admiral was succeeded by his eldest son in the title, and in the income, and the honors, which he had acquired by his labor, perseverance, and good fortune, in the fortunate and happy reign of the King and Queen, who fitted him out, and sent him on his enterprise.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW
GOSNOLD'S VOYAGE TO AMERICA, A. D. 1602.

[The first attempt of the English to make a settlement within the limits of New England, was under the command of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, near the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the 4th volume of Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 1646, to p. 1653 are three documents relating to this expedition. 1. A letter from Capt. Gosnold to his father. — 2. Gabriel Archer's account of the voyage. — 3. A Chapter entitled, "Notes taken out of a tractate written by James Rosier to Sir Walter Raleigh."

This last is in fact the latter part of a letter written by John Brereton to Sir Walter Raleigh. The mistake of Purchas in ascribing it to Rosier is the more remarkable, as his own extract includes the formal signature "Your Lordship's, to command, John Brereton."

His next chapter but one, consists of extracts from the account of Weymouth's voyage, written by James Rosier, and he seems to have prefixed the same name to both chapters by mere inadvertence. This error has led Dr. Belknap, in the Life of Gosnold, contained in the second volume of the American Biography, to mention Rosier as one of his companions on that voyage, for which there is no authority.

Of Brereton, after the date of his letter, I know nothing. But we learn from Purchas, that Capt. Gosnold was the first mover of the permanent plantation of Virginia, in 1606, the previous attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh and others having failed. For many years, we are told, he solicited many of his friends, but found small assistance, till at last he prevailed with Capt. Wingfield, Capt. John Smith, Capt. Gabriel Archer and others, who finally sailed from London on the 19th of December, 1606. They were kept six weeks in sight of England by unprosperous gales; and after touching at Guadaloupe and other islands in the West Indies, did not reach Virginia till the 26th of April, 1607.

Capt. Wingfield was chosen President of the Council of six, by which the Plantation was to be governed, and of which Capt. Gosnold was a member. In the following August there was a great mortality among the planters, and on the 22d of that month, Capt. Gosnold died, and was honorably buried. After his death, it is stated, the Council could hardly agree.

Capt. Gabriel Archer was in the same expedition to Virginia; and not long after Gosnold's death he intended to abandon the Colony, but was prevented by Captain John Smith. Being found, however, very troublesome, and much opposed to Capt. Smith, he was, at a later period, sent back by him to England. In 1609 he returned to Virginia, and was still constantly hostile to Capt. Smith, and even accused of conspiring against

his life. His own letter touching his voyage to Virginia in 1609, and defending his conduct there, is in 4th Purchas, p. 1733.

In the summer of 1817, several members of the Historical Society visited the Elizabeth Islands, in Buzzard's Bay, and examined the precise spot of Gosnold's settlement. It is perfectly well defined, and is on a small islet in a pond on an Island, now known by its Indian name Cuttyhunk, the name of Elizabeth, given to it by Capt. Gosnold, having been since transferred to the whole group. A letter from the writer of this notice giving an account of that visit, and of the present condition of the place, may be found in the 5th volume of the North American Review, p. 313, &c.

As no copy of Brereton exists in any public Library in this vicinity, it is thought best to reprint it here, and with it the other contemporary documents relating to this first settlement in New England. Gosnold's letter to his father, and Gabriel Archer's account are from Purchas. Brereton's letter, and the short notice of Mace's voyage are reprinted from a transcript of the second edition in the Library of Thomas Aspinwall, Esqr., American Consul in London, presented to the Society by him. The documents following it, are from a transcript procured in London by Professor Sparks, and communicated by Mr. F. C. Gray.]

*Master Bartholomew Gosnold's Letter to his Father, touching
his first voyage to Virginia, 1602.*

MY duty remembered, &c. Sir, I was in good hope that my occasions would have allowed me so much liberty, as to have come unto you before this time; otherwise I would have written more at large concerning the country from whence we lately came, than I did: but not well remembering what I have already written (though I am assured that there is nothing set down disagreeing with the truth,) I thought it fittest not to go about to add anything in writing, but rather to leave the report of the rest till I come myself; which now I hope shall be shortly, and so soon as with conveniency I may. In the mean time, notwithstanding whereas you seem not to be satisfied by that which I have already written, concerning some especial matters; I have here briefly (and as well as I can) added these few lines for your further satisfaction: and first, as touching that place where we were most resident, it is the latitude of 41 degrees, and one third part; which albeit it be so much to the southward, yet is it more cold than those parts of Europe, which are situated under the same parallel: but one thing is worth

the noting, that notwithstanding the place is not so much subject to cold as England is, yet did we find the spring to be later there, than it is with us here, by almost a month: this whether it happened accidentally this last spring to be so, or whether it be so of course, I am not very certain; the latter seems most likely, whereof also there may be given some sufficient reason, which now I omit: as for the acorns we saw gathered on heaps, they were of the last year, but doubtless their summer continues longer than ours.

We cannot gather, by anything we could observe in the people, or by any trial we had thereof ourselves, but that it is as healthful a climate as any can be. The inhabitants there, as I wrote before, being of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and some of good years, and as it should seem very healthful, are sufficient proof of the healthfulness of the place. First, for ourselves (thanks be to God) we had not a man sick two days together in all our voyage; whereas others that went out with us, or about that time on other voyages (especially such as went upon reprisal,) were most of them infected with sickness, whereof they lost some of their men, and brought home a many sick, returning notwithstanding long before us. But Verazzano, and others (as I take it, you may read in the Book of Discoveries,) do more particularly entreat of the age of the people in that coast. The sassafras which we brought we had upon the islands; where though we had little disturbance, and reasonable plenty; yet for that the greatest part of our people were employed about the fitting of our house, and such like affairs, and a few (and those but easy laborers) undertook this work, the rather because we were informed before our going forth, that a ton was sufficient to cloy England, and further, for that we had resolved upon our return, and taken view of our victual, we judged it then needful to use expedition; which afterward we had more certain proof of; for when we came to an anchor before Portsmouth, which was some four days after we made the land, we had not one cake of bread, nor any drink, but a little vinegar left: for these and other reasons, we returned no otherwise laden than you have heard. And thus much I hope shall suffice till I can myself come to give you further notice, which though it be not so soon as I could have wished, yet I hope it shall be in convenient time.

In the mean time, craving your pardon, for which the urgent occasions of my stay will plead, I humbly take my leave.

7th September, 1602.

Your dutiful son,

BARTH. GOSNOLD.

The Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage to the North part of Virginia, begun the six-and-twentieth of March, Anno 42 Elizabethæ Reginae, 1602, and delivered by Gabriel Archer, a gentleman in the said voyage.

The said captain did set sail from Falmouth the day and year above written accompanied with thirty-two persons, whereof eight mariners and sailors, twelve purposing upon the discovery to return with the ship for England, the rest remain there for population. The fourteenth of April following, we had sight of Saint Mary's, an Island of the Azores.

The three-and-twentieth of the same, being two hundred leagues westward from the said island, in the latitude of 37 degrees, the water in the main ocean appeared yellow, the space of two leagues north and south, where sounding with thirty fathoms line, we found no ground, and taking up some of the said water in a bucket, it altered not either in color or taste from the sea azure.

The seventh of May following, we first saw many birds in bigness of cliff pigeons, and after divers others as petrels, coots, hagbuts, penguins, mews, gannets, cormorants, gulls, with many else in our English tongue of no name. The eighth of the same the water changed to a yellowish green, where at seventy fathoms we had ground. The ninth, we had two-and-twenty fathoms in fair sandy ground, having upon our lead many glittering stones, somewhat heavy, which might promise some mineral matter in the bottom, we held ourselves by computation, well near the latitude of 43 degrees.

The tenth we sounded in 27, 30, 37, 43 fathoms, and then came to 108. Some thought it to be the sounding of

the westernmost end of Saint John's Island ; upon this bank we saw skulls of fish in great numbers. The twelfth, we hoisted out hawser of our shallop, and sounding had then eighty fathoms without any current perceived by William Strete the master, one hundred leagues westward from Saint Mary's, till we came to the aforesaid soundings, continually passed fleeting by us sea-oare, which seemed to have their movable course towards the north-east ; a matter to set some subtle invention on work, for comprehending the true cause thereof. The thirteenth, we sounded in seventy fathoms, and observed great beds of weeds, much wood, and divers things else floating by us, when as we had smelling of the shore, such as from the southern Cape and Andalusia, in Spain. The fourteenth, about six in the morning, we descried land that lay north, &c., the northerly part we called the north land, which to another rock upon the same lying twelve leagues west, that we called Savage Rock, (because the savages first showed themselves there) ; five leagues towards the said rock is an out point of woody ground, the trees thereof very high and straight, from the rock east-north-east. From the said rock, came towards us a Biscay shallop with sail and oars, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to be Christians distressed. But approaching us nearer, we perceived them to be savages. These coming within call, hailed us, and we answered. Then after signs of peace, and a long speech by one of them made, they came boldly aboard us, being all naked, saving about their shoulders certain loose deer skins, and near their wastes seal skins tied fast like to Irish dimmie trowsers. One that seemed to be their commander wore a waistcoat of black work, a pair of breeches, cloth stockings, shoes, hat and band, one or two more had also a few things made by some Christians ; these with a piece of chalk described the coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the Newfoundland ; they spoke divers Christian words, and seemed to understand much more then we, for want of language could comprehend. These people are in color swart, their hair long, uptied with a knot in the part of behind the head. They paint their bodies, which are strong and well proportioned. These much desired our longer stay, but finding ourselves short of our purposed place, we

set sail westward, leaving them and their coast. About sixteen leagues south-west from thence we perceived in that course two small islands, the one lying eastward from Savage Rock, the other to the southward of it; the coast we left was full of goodly woods, fair plains, with little green round hills above the cliffs appearing unto us, which are indifferently raised, but all rocky, and of shining stones, which might have persuaded us a longer stay there.

The fifteenth day we had again sight of the land, which made ahead, being as we thought an island, by reason of a large sound that appeared westward between it and the main, for coming to the west end thereof, we did perceive a large opening, we called it Shoal Hope. Near this cape we came to anchor in fifteen fathoms, where we took great store of codfish, for which we altered the name, and called it Cape Cod. Here we saw sculls of herring, mackerel and other small fish, in great abundance. This is a low sandy shoal, but without danger, also we came to anchor again in sixteen fathoms, fair by the land in the latitude of 42 degrees. This cape is well near a mile broad, and lieth north-east by east. The captain went here ashore and found the ground to be full of pease, strawberries, whortleberries, &c., as then unripe, the sand also by the shore somewhat deep, the firewood there by us taken in was of cypress, birch, witch-hazel and beech. A young Indian came here to the captain, armed with his bow and arrows, and had certain plates of copper hanging at his ears; he showed a willingness to help us in our occasions.

The sixteenth, we trended the coast southerly, which was all champaign and full of grass, but the island somewhat woody. Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we descried a point with some breach, a good distance off, and keeping our luff to double it, we came on the sudden into shoal water, yet well quitted ourselves thereof. This breach we called Tucker's Terror, upon his expressed fear. The point we named Point Care; having passed it we bore up again with the land, and in the night came with it anchoring in eight fathoms, the ground good.

The seventeenth, appeared many breaches round about us, so as we continued that day without remove.

The eighteenth, being fair we sent forth the boat, to

sound over a breach, that in our course lay of another point, by us called Gilbert's Point, who returned us four, five, six and seven fathoms over. Also, a discovery of divers islands which after proved to be hills and hammocks, distinct within the land. This day there came unto the ship's side divers canoes, the Indians apparelled as aforesaid, with tobacco and pipes steeled with copper, skins, artificial strings and other trifles to barter; one had hanging about his neck a plate of rich copper, in length a foot, in breadth half a foot for a breast-plate, the ears of all the rest had pendants of copper. Also, one of them had his face painted over, and head stuck with feathers in manner of a turkey-cock's train. These are more timorous than those of the Savage Rock, yet very thievish.

The nineteenth, we passed over the breach of Gilbert's Point in four or five fathoms, and anchored a league or somewhat more beyond it; between the last two points are two leagues, the interim, along shoal water, the latitude here is 41 degrees two third parts.

The twentieth, by the ship's side, we there killed penguins, and saw many skulls of fish. The coast from Gilbert's Point to the supposed isles lieth east and by south. Here also we discovered two inlets which might promise fresh water, inwardly whereof we perceived much smoke, as though some population had there been. This coast is very full of people, for that as we trended the same savages still run along the shore, as men much admiring at us.

The one-and-twentieth, we went coasting from Gilbert's Point to the supposed isles, in ten, nine, eight, seven, and six fathoms, close aboard the shore, and that depth lieth a league off. A little from the supposed isles, appeared unto us an opening, with which we stood, judging it to be the end of that which Captain Gosnold descried from Cape Cod, and as he thought to extend some thirty or more miles in length, and finding there but three fathoms a league off, we omitted to make further discovery of the same, calling it Shoal-Hope.

From this opening the main lieth south-west, which coasting along we saw a disinhabited island, which so afterward appeared unto us: we bore with it, and named it Martha's Vineyard; from Shoal-Hope it is eight leagues in circuit, the

island is five miles, and hath 41 degrees and one quarter of latitude. The place most pleasant ; for the two-and-twentieth, we went ashore, and found it full of wood, vines, gooseberry bushes, whortleberries, raspberries, eglantines, &c. Here we had cranes, stearnes, shoulers, geese, and divers other birds which there at that time upon the cliffs being sandy with some rocky stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw deer : here we rode in eight fathoms near the shore where we took great store of cod, —as before at Cape Cod, but much better.

The three-and-twentieth we weighed, and towards night came to anchor at the north-west part of this island, where the next morning offered unto us fast running thirteen savages apparelled as aforesaid, and armed with bows and arrows without any fear. They brought tobacco, deer-skins and some sodden fish. These offered themselves unto us in great familiarity, who seemed to be well-conditioned. They came more rich in copper than any before. This island is sound, and hath no danger about it.

The four-and-twentieth, we set sail and doubled the Cape of another island next unto it, which we called Dover Cliff, and then came into a fair sound, where we rode all night ; the next morning we sent off one boat to discover another cape, that lay between us and the main, from which were a ledge of rocks a mile into the sea, but all above water, and without danger ; we went about them, and came to anchor in eight fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the shore, in one of the stateliest sounds that ever I was in. This called we Gosnold's Hope ; the north bank whereof is the main, which stretcheth east and west. This island Captain Gosnold called Elizabeth's isle, where we determined our abode : the distance between every of these islands is, viz. from Martha's Vineyard to Dover Cliff, half a league over the sound, thence to Elizabeth's isle one league distant. From Elizabeth's island unto the main is four leagues. On the north side, near adjoining unto the island Elizabeth, is an islet in compass half a mile, full of cedars, by me called Hill's Hap, to the northward of which, in the mouth of an opening on the main, appeareth another the like, that I called Hap's Hill, for that I hope much hap may be expected from it.

The five-and-twentieth, it was that we came from Gosnold's Hope. The six-and-twentieth, we trimmed and fitted up our shallop. The seven-and-twentieth, there came unto us an Indian and two women, the one we supposed to be his wife, the other his daughter, both clean and straight-bodied, with countenance sweet and pleasant. To these the Indian gave heedful attendance for that they shewed them in much familiarity with our men, although they would not admit of any immodest touch.

The eight-and-twentieth we entered counsel about our abode and plantation, which was concluded to be in the west part of Elizabeth's island. The north-east thereof running from out our ken. The south and north standeth in an equal parallel. This island in the westernside admitteth some in creeks, or sandy coves, so girded, as the water in some places of each side meeteth, to which the Indians from the main do oftentimes resort for fishing of crabs. There is eight fathoms very near the shore, and the latitude here is 41 degrees 11 minutes, the breadth from sound to sound in the western part is not passing a mile at most, altogether unpeopled and disinhabited. It is overgrown with wood and rubbish, viz. oaks, ashes, beech, walnut, witch-hazle, sassafras, and cedars, with divers other of unknown names. The rubbish is wild pease, young sassafras, cherry-trees, vines, eglantines, gooseberry bushes, hawthorn, honeysuckles, with others of like quality. The herbs and roots are strawberries, raspberries, ground-nuts, alexander, surrin, tansy, &c. without count. Touching the fertility of the soil by our own experience made, we found it to be excellent for sowing some English pulse; it sprouted out in one fortnight almost half a foot. In this island is a stage or pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles, on the one side not distant from the sea thirty yards, in the centre whereof is a rocky islet, containing near an acre of ground full of wood, on which we began our fort and place of abode, disposing itself so fit for the same. These Indians call gold wassador, which argueth there is thereof in the country.

The nine-and-twentieth, we labored in getting of sassafras, rubbishing our little fort or islet, new keeling our shallop, and making a punt or flat-bottom boat to pass to and fro our fort over the fresh water, the powder of sassafras,

in twelve hours cured one of our company that had taken a great surfeit, by eating the bellies of dog fish, a very delicious meat.

The thirtieth, Captain Gosnold, with divers of his company, went upon pleasure in the shallop towards Hill's Hap to view it and the sandy cove, and returning brought with him a canoe that four Indians had there left, being fled away for fear of our English, which we brought into England.

The one-and-thirtieth, Captain Gosnold, desirous to see the main because of the distance, he set sail over; where coming to anchor, went ashore with certain of his company, and immediately there presented unto him men women and children, who, with all courteous kindness entertained him, giving him certain skins of wild beasts, which may be rich furs, tobacco, turtles, hemp, artificial strings colored, chains, and such like things as at the instant they had about them. These are a fair-conditioned people. On all the sea-coast along we found mussel shells that in color did represent mother-of-pearl, but not having means to dredge, could not apprehend further knowledge thereof. This main is the goodliest continent that ever we saw, promising more by far than we any way did expect: for it is replenished with fair fields, and in them fragrant flowers, also meadows, and hedged in with stately groves, being furnished also with pleasant brooks, and beautified with two main rivers that (as we judge) may haply become good harbors, and conduct us to the hopes men so greedily do thirst after. In the mouth of one of these inlets or rivers, lieth that little isle before mentioned, called Hap's Hill, from which unto the westernmost end of the main, appearing where the other inlet is, I account some five leagues, and the coast between bendeth like a bow, and lieth east and by north. Beyond these two inlets we might perceive the main to bear up south-west, and more southerly. Thus with this taste of discovery, we now contented ourselves, and the same day made return unto our fort, time not permitting more sparing delay.

The first of June, we employed ourselves in getting sassafras, and the building of our fort. The second, third and fourth, we wrought hard to make ready our house for the provision to be had ashore to sustain us till our ship's return. This day from the main came to our ship's side a canoe,

with their lord or chief commander, for that they made little stay only pointing to the sun, as in sign that the next day he would come and visit us, which he did accordingly.

The fifth, we continued our labor, when there came unto us ashore from the main fifty savages, stout and lusty men with their bows and arrows, amongst them there seemed to be one of authority, because the rest made an inclining respect unto him. The ship was at their coming a league off, and Captain Gosnold aboard, and so likewise Captain Gilbert, who almost never went ashore, the company with me only eight persons. These Indians in hasty manner came towards us, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle between the sea and a fresh water; I moved myself towards him seven or eight steps, and clapped my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my musket with a threatening countenance, thereby to signify unto them, either a choice of peace or war, whereupon he using me with mine own signs of peace, I stepped forth and embraced him; his company then all sat down in manner like greyhounds upon their heels, with whom my company fell a bartering. By this time Captain Gosnold was come with twelve men more from aboard, and to show the savage seignior that he was our Captain, we received him in a guard, which he passing through, saluted the seignior with ceremonies of our salutations, whereat he nothing moved or altered himself. Our Captain gave him a straw hat and a pair of knives; the hat awhile he wore, but the knives he beheld with great marvelling, being very bright and sharp; this our courtesy made them all in love with us.

The sixth, being rainy, we spent idly aboard. The seventh, the seignior came again with all his troop as before, and continued with us the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noon, they sat with us and did eat of our bacaleure and mustard, drank of our beer, but the mustard nipping them in their noses they could not endure: it was a sport to behold their faces made being bitten therewith. In time of dinner the savages had stole a target, wherewith acquainting the seignior, with fear and great trembling they restored it again, thinking perhaps we would have been revenged for it, but seeing our familiarity to continue, they fell afresh to roasting of crabs, red herrings, which were

exceeding great, ground nuts, &c. as before. Our dinner ended, the seignior first took leave and departed, next all the rest saving four that stayed and went into the wood to help us dig sassafras, whom we desired to go aboard us, which they refused and so departed.

The eighth we divided the victuals, namely, the ship's store for England, and that of the planters, which by Captain Gilbert's allowance could be but six weeks for six months, whereby there fell out a controversy, the rather, for that some seemed secretly to understand of a purpose Captain Gilbert had not to return with supply of the issue, those goods should make by him to be carried home. Besides, there wanted not ambitious conceits in the minds of some wrangling and ill-disposed persons who overthrew the stay there at that time, which upon consultation thereof had, about five days after was fully resolved all for England again. There came in this interim aboard unto us, that stayed all night, an Indian, whom we used kindly, and the next day sent ashore; he showed himself the most sober of all the rest, we held him sent as a spy. In the morning, he filched away our pot-hooks, thinking he had not done any ill therein; being ashore we bid him strike fire, which with an emerald stone (such as the glaziers use to cut glass) he did. I take it to be the very same that in Latin is called *smiris*, for striking therewith upon touch-wood that of purpose he had, by means of a mineral stone used therein, sparkles proceeded and forthwith kindled with making of flame. The ninth, we continued working on our storehouse, for as yet remained in us a desired resolution of making stay. The tenth, Captain Gosnold fell down with the ship to the little islet of cedars, called Hill's Hap, to take in cedar wood, leaving me and nine more in the fort, only with three meals meat, upon promise to return the next day.

The eleventh, he came not, neither sent, whereupon I commanded four of my company to seek out for crabs, lobsters, turtles, &c. for sustaining us till the ships returned, which was gone clean out of sight, and had the wind chopped up at south-west, with much difficulty would she have been able in short time to have made return. These four purveyors, whom I counselled to keep together for their better safety, divided themselves, two going one way and two

another, in search as aforesaid. One of these petty companies was assaulted by four Indians, who with arrows did shoot and hurt one of the two in his side, the other, a lusty and nimble fellow, leaped in and cut their bow strings, whereupon they fled. Being late in the evening, they were driven to lie all night in the woods, not knowing the way home through the thick rubbish, as also the weather somewhat stormy. The want of these sorrowed us much, as not able to conjecture anything of them unless very evil.

The twelfth, those two came unto us again, whereat our joy was increased, yet the want of our Captain, that promised to return, as aforesaid, struck us in a dumpish terror, for that he performed not the same in the space of almost three days. In the mean we sustained ourselves with alexander and sorrel pottage, ground-nuts and tobacco, which gave nature a reasonable content. We heard at last, our Captain to 'lewre' unto us, which made such music as sweeter never came unto poor men.

The thirteenth, began some of our company that before vowed to stay, to make revolt: whereupon the planters diminishing, all was given over. The fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth, we spent in getting sassafras and fire-wood of cedar, leaving house and little fort, by ten men in nineteen days sufficient made to harbor twenty persons at least with their necessary provisions.

The seventeenth, we set sail, doubling the Rocks of Elizabeth's Island, and passing by Dover Cliff, came to anchor at Martha's Vineyard, being five leagues distant from our fort, where we went ashore, and had young cranes, herneshowes, and geese, which now were grown to pretty bigness.

The eighteenth, we set sail and bore for England, cutting off our shallop, that was well able to land five and twenty men or more, a boat very necessary for the like occasions. The winds do range most commonly upon this coast in the summer time, westerly. In our homeward course we observed the foresaid floating weeds to continue till we came within two hundred leagues of Europe. The three-and-twentieth of July we came to anchor before Exmouth.

A

BRIEF AND TRUE RELATION

OF THE

D I S C O V E R Y

OF THE

NORTH PART OF VIRGINIA;

BEING A MOST PLEASANT, FRUITFUL AND COMMODIOUS SOIL;

MADE THIS PRESENT YEAR 1602, BY CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD,
CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT, AND DIVERS OTHER GEN-
TLEMEN, THEIR ASSOCIATES, BY THE PERMISSION
OF THE HONORABLE KNIGHT, SIR
WALTER RALEIGH, &c.

WRITTEN BY M. JOHN BRERETON,
ONE OF THE VOYAGE.

WHEREUNTO IS ANNEXED

A TREATISE, OF M. EDWARD HAYES,

CONTAINING IMPORTANT INDUCEMENTS FOR THE PLANTING
IN THOSE PARTS, AND FINDING A PASSAGE THAT WAY
TO THE SOUTH SEA, AND CHINA; WITH DIVERS
INSTRUCTIONS OF SPECIAL MOMENT, NEWLY
ADDED TO THIS SECOND IMPRESSION.

LONDINI:

IMPENSIS GEOR. BISHOP.

1602.



To the Honorable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Captain of her Majesty's Guards, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, Lieutenant of Cornwall, and Governor of the Isle of Jersey.

Honorable Sir,—Being earnestly requested by a dear friend, to put down in writing, some true relation of our late performed voyage to the north parts of Virginia; at length I resolved to satisfy his request, who also emboldened me to direct the same to your honorable consideration; to whom indeed of duty it pertaineth.

May it please your Lordship therefore to understand, that upon the five-and-twentieth of March, 1602, being Friday, we went from Falmouth, being in all, two-and-thirty persons, in a small bark of Dartmouth, called The Concord, holding a course for the north part of Virginia: and although by chance the wind favored us not at first as we wished, but enforced us so far to the southward, as we fell in with Saint Mary, one of the islands of the Azores, (which was not much out of our way) but holding our course directly from thence, we made our journey shorter (than hitherto accustomed) by the better part of a thousand leagues, yet were we longer in our passage than we expected, which happened, for that our bark being weak, we were loth to press her with much sail; also, our sailors being few, and they none of the best, we bear (except in fair weather) but low sail; besides, our going upon an unknown coast, made us not over bold to stand in with the shore, but in open weather; which caused us to be certain days in sounding, before we discovered the coast, the weather being by chance, somewhat foggy. But on Friday, the fourteenth of May, early in the morning, we made the land, being full of fair trees, the land somewhat low, certain hāmmocks or hills lying into the land, the shore full of white sand, but very stony or rocky. And standing fair along by the shore, about twelve of the clock the same day, we came to an anchor, where eight Indians in a Basque-shallop with mast and sail, an iron grapple, and a kettle of copper, came boldly aboard us, one of them appparelled with a waistcoat and breeches of black serge, made after our sea-fashion, hose and shoes on his feet; all the rest (saving one that had

a pair of breeches of blue cloth) were naked. These people are of tall stature, broad and grim visage, of a black swart complexion, their eyebrows painted white; their weapons are bows and arrows. It seemed by some words and signs they made, that some Basques or of St. John de Luz, have fished or traded in this place, being in the latitude of 43 degrees.

But riding here, in no very good harbor, and withal, doubting the weather, about three of the clock the same day in the afternoon we weighed, and standing southerly off into sea the rest of that day and the night following, with a fresh gale of wind, in the morning we found ourselves embayed with a mighty headland; but coming to an anchor about nine of the clock the same day, within a league of the shore, we hoisted out the one half of our shallop, and Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, myself and three others, went ashore, being a white sandy and very bold shore; and marching all that afternoon with our muskets on our necks, on the highest hills which we saw (the weather very hot,) at length we perceived this headland to be parcel of the main, and sundry islands lying almost round about it: so returning towards evening) to our shallop (for by that time the other part was brought ashore and set together) we espied an Indian, a young man, of proper stature, and of a pleasing countenance, and after some familiarity with him, we left him at the sea side, and returned to our ship; where in five or six hours' absence, we had pestered our ship so with codfish, that we threw numbers of them overboard again: and surely, I am persuaded that in the months of March, April, and May, there is upon this coast better fishing, and in as great plenty, as in Newfoundland: for the skulls of mackerel, herrings, cod, and other fish, that we daily saw as we went and came from the shore, were wonderful; and besides, the places where we took these cods (and might in a few days have laden our ship) were but in seven fathoms water, and within less than a league of the shore: where, in Newfoundland they fish in forty or fifty fathoms water, and far off.

From this place we sailed round about this headland, almost all the points of the compass, the shore very bold: but as no coast is free from dangers, so I am persuaded, this is as free as any. The land somewhat low, full of goodly

woods, but in some places plain. At length we were come amongst many fair islands, which we had partly discerned at our first landing ; all lying within a league or two one of another, and the outermost not above five or seven leagues from the main : but coming to an anchor under one of them,* which was about three or four leagues from the main, captain Gosnold, myself, and some others, went ashore, and going round about it, we found it to be four English miles in compass, without house or inhabitant, saving a little old house made of boughs, covered with bark, an old piece of a weare of the Indians to catch fish, and one or two places, where they had made fires. The chiefest trees of this island are beeches and cedars, the outward parts all overgrown with low bushy trees, three or four feet in height, which bear some kind of fruits, as appeared by their blossoms ; strawberries, red and white, as sweet and much bigger than ours in England ; raspberries, gooseberries, whortleberries, and such an incredible store of vines, as well in the woody part of the Island, where they run upon every tree, as on the outward parts, that we could not go for treading upon them ; also, many springs of excellent sweet water, and a great standing lake of fresh water, near the sea-side, an English mile in compass, which is maintained with the springs running exceeding pleasantly through the woody grounds which are very rocky. Here are also in this island, great store of deer, which we saw, and other beasts, as appeared by their tracks ; as also divers fowls, as cranes, hernshaws, bitterns, geese, mallards, teals, and other fowls, in great plenty ; also, great store of pease, which grow in certain plots all the island over. On the north side of this island we found many huge bones and ribs of whales. This island, as also all the rest of these islands are full of all sorts of stones fit for building ; the sea sides all covered with stones, many of them glistening and shining like mineral stones, and very rocky : also, the rest of these islands are replenished with these commodities, and upon some of them, inhabitants ; as upon an island to the northward, and within two leagues of this ; yet we found no towns, nor many of their houses, although we saw many Indians, which are tall

* The first Island called Martha's Vineyard. Note in original.

big-boned men, all naked, saving they cover their private parts with a black towed skin, much like a blacksmiths apron, tied about their middle and between their legs behind: they gave us of their fish ready boiled, (which they carried in a basket made of twigs, not unlike our osier,) whereof we did eat, and judged them to be fresh water fish: they gave us also of their tobacco, which they drink green, but dried into powder, very strong and pleasant, and much better than any I have tasted in England: the necks of their pipes are made of clay hard dried, (whereof in that island is great store both red and white,) the other part is a piece of hollow copper, very finely closed and cemented together. We gave unto them certain trifles, as knives, points, and such like, which they much esteemed.

From hence we went to another island, to the northwest of this, and within a league or two of the main, which we found to be greater than before we imagined, being sixteen English miles at the least in compass; for it containeth many pieces or necks of land, which differ nothing from several islands, saving that certain banks of small breadth do, like bridges, join them to this island. On the outsides of this island are many plain places of grass, abundance of strawberries and other berries before mentioned. In mid May we did sow in this island (for a trial) in sundry places, wheat, barley, oats, and pease, which in fourteen days were sprung up nine inches and more. The soil is fat and lusty, the upper crust of grey color; but a foot or less in depth, of the color of our hemplands in England; and being thus apt for these and the like grains; the sowing or setting (after the ground is closed) is no greater labor, than if you should set or sow in one of our best prepared gardens in England. *This island is full of high timbered oaks, their leaves thrice so broad as ours; cedars, straight and tall; beech, elm, holly, walnut trees in abundance, the fruit as big as ours, as appeared by those we found under the trees, which had lain all the year ungathered; hazle-nut trees, cherry trees, the leaf, bark and bigness not differing from ours in England, but the stalk beareth the blossoms or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of grapes, forty or fifty in a bunch; sassafras

* Here begins the extract in Purchas.

trees, great plenty all the island over, a tree of high price and profit; also, divers other fruit trees, some of them with strange barks of an orange color, in feeling soft and smooth like velvet: in the thickest parts of these woods, you may see a furlong or more round about. On the north-west side of this island, near to the sea-side, is a standing lake of fresh water, almost three English miles in compass, in the midst whereof stands a plot of woody ground, an acre in quantity or not above: this lake is full of small tortoises, and exceedingly frequented with all sorts of fowls before rehearsed, which breed, some low on the banks, and others on low trees about this lake in great abundance, whose young ones of all sorts we took and eat at our pleasure: but all these fowls are much bigger than ours in England. Also, in every island, and almost in every part of every island, are great store of ground-nuts, forty together on a string, some of them as big as hen's eggs; they grow not two inches under ground: the which nuts we found to be as good as potatoes. Also, divers sorts of shell-fish, as scollops, muscles, cockles, lobsters, crabs, oysters, and wilks, exceeding good and very great.

But not to cloy you with particular rehearsal of such things as God and nature hath bestowed on these places, in comparison whereof the most fertile part of England is (of itself) but barren: we went in our light-horseman from this island to the main, right against this island some two leagues off, where coming ashore, we stood awhile like men ravished at the beauty and delicacy of this sweet soil; for besides divers clear lakes of fresh water, (whereof we saw no end) meadows very large and full of green grass; even the most woody places (I speak only of such as I saw,) do grow so distinct and apart, one tree from another, upon green grassy ground, somewhat higher than the plains, as if nature would show herself above her power, artificial. Hard by we espied seven Indians, and coming up to them, at first they expressed some fear; but being emboldened by our courteous usage, and some trifles which we gave them, they followed us to a neck of land, which we imagined had been severed from the main; but finding it otherwise, we perceived a broad harbor or river's mouth, which ran up into the main; and because the day was far spent, we were forced to return to

the island from whence we came, leaving the discovery of this harbor, for a time of better leisure. Of the goodness of which harbor, as also of many others thereabouts, there is small doubt, considering that all the islands, as also the main (where we were) is all rocky grounds and broken lands. Now the next day, we determined to fortify ourselves in a little plot of ground in the midst of the lake abovementioned, where we built our house, and covered it with sedge, which grew about this lake in great abundance ; in building whereof we spent three weeks and more : but the second day after our coming from the main, we espied eleven canoes or boats, with fifty Indians in them, coming toward us from this part of the main, where we, two days before landed ; and being loath they should discover our fortification, we went out on the sea-side to meet them ; and coming somewhat near them, they all sat down upon the stones, calling aloud to us (as we rightly guessed) to do the like, a little distance from them : having sat awhile in this order, Captain Gosnold willed me to go unto them, to see what countenance they would make ; but as soon as I came up unto them, one of them, to whom I had given a knife two days before in the main, knew me, (whom I also very well remembered) and smiling upon me, spake somewhat unto their lord or captain, which sat in the midst of them, who presently rose up and took a large beaver skin from one that stood about him, and gave it unto me, which I requited for that time, the best I could ; but I, pointing towards Captain Gosnold, made signs unto him, that he was our captain, and desirous to be his friend, and enter league with him, which (as I perceived) he understood, and made signs of joy : whereupon Captain Gosnold with the rest of his company, being twenty in all, came up unto them ; and after many signs of gratulations (Captain Gosnold presenting their lord with certain trifles which they wondered at, and highly esteemed,) we became very great friends, and sent for meat aboard our shallop, and gave them such meats as we had then ready dressed, whereof they misliked nothing but our mustard, whereat they made many a sour face. While we were thus merry, one of them had conveyed a target of ours into one of their canoes, which we suffered, only to try whether they were in subjection to this lord to whom we made signs (by shewing

him another of the same likeness, and pointing to the canoe) what one of his company had done: who suddenly expressed some fear, and speaking angrily to one about him (as we perceived by his countenance,) caused it presently to be brought back again. So the rest of the day we spent in trading with them for furs, which are beavers, luzernes, martins, otters, wild-cat skins, very large and deep fur, black foxes, coney skins, of the color of our hares, but somewhat less; deer skins, very large, seal skins, and other beasts' skins, to us unknown. They have also great store of copper, some very red, and some of a paler color: none of them but have chains, ear-rings or collars of this metal: they head some of their arrows herewith much like our broad arrow heads, very workmanly made. Their chains are many hollow pieces cemented together, each piece of the bigness of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they wear about their necks: their collars they wear about their bodies like bandeliers a handful broad, all hollow pieces, like the other, but somewhat shorter, four hundred pieces in a collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these they have large drinking cups made like skulls, and other thin plates of copper, made much like our boar spear blades, all which they so little esteem, as they offered their fairest collars or chains for a knife or such like trifle, but we seemed little to regard it; yet I was desirous to understand where they had such store of this metal, and made signs to one of them (with whom I was very familiar) who taking a piece of copper in his hand, made a hole with his finger in the ground, and withal pointed to the main from whence they came. They strike fire in this manner; every one carrieth about him in a purse of tewed leather, a mineral stone (which I take to be their copper,) and with a flat emery stone (wherewith glaziers cut glass, and cutlers glaze blades,) tied fast to the end of a little stick, gently he striketh upon the mineral stone, and within a stroke or two, a spark falleth upon a piece of touchwood (much like our sponge in England,) and with the least spark he maketh a fire presently. We had also of their flax, wherewith they make many strings and cords, but it is not so bright of color as ours in England: I am persuaded they have great store growing upon the main, as also mines and many other rich

commodities, which we, wanting both time and means, could not possibly discover.

Thus they continued with us three days, every night retiring themselves to the furthestmost part of our island two or three miles from our fort : but the fourth day they returned to the main, pointing five or six times to the sun, and once to the main, which we understood, that within five or six days they would come from the main to us again ; but being in their canoes a little from the shore, they made huge cries and shouts of joy unto us ; and we with our trumpet and cornet, and casting up our caps into the air, made them the best farewell we could : yet six or seven of them remained with us behind, bearing us company every day into the woods, and helped us to cut and carry our sassafras, and some of them lay aboard our ship.

These people, as they are exceeding courteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, excelling all others that we have seen ; so for shape of body and lovely favor, I think they excel all the people of America ; of stature much higher than we ; of complexion or color, much like a dark olive ; their eyebrows and hair black, which they wear long, tied up behind in knots, whereon they prick feathers of fowls, in fashion of a coronet ; some of them are black thin bearded ; they make beards of the hair of beasts : and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our sailors, for his that grew on his face, which because it was of a red color, they judged to be none of his own. They are quick-eyed, and steadfast in their looks, fearless of others' harms, as intending none themselves ; some of the meaner sort given to filching, which the very name of savages (not weighing their ignorance in good or evil,) may easily excuse : their garments are of deer skins, and some of them wear furs round and close about their necks. They pronounce our language with great facility ; for one of them one day sitting by me, upon occasion I spake smiling to him these words : How now (sirrah) are you so saucy with my tobacco ? which words (without any further repetition,) he suddenly spake so plain and distinctly, as if he had been a long scholar in the language. Many other such trials we had, which are here needless to repeat. Their women (such as we saw) which were but three in all, were but low of stature, their

eyebrows, hair, apparel, and manner of wearing, like to the men, fat, and very well favored, and much delighted in our company; the men are very dutiful towards them. And truly, the wholesomeness and temperature of this climate, doth not only argue this people to be answerable to this description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, active, strong, healthful, and very witty, as the sundry toys of theirs cunningly wrought, may easily witness. For the agreeing of this climate with us (I speak of myself, and so I may justly do for the rest of our company,) that we found our health and strength all the while we remained there, so to renew and increase, as notwithstanding our diet and lodging was none of the best, yet not one of our company (God be thanked,) felt the least grudging or inclination to any disease or sickness, but were much fatter and in better health than when we went out of England.

But after our bark had taken in so much sassafras, cedar, furs, skins, and other commodities, as were thought convenient, some of our company that had promised Captain Gosnold to stay, having nothing but a saving voyage in their minds, made our company of inhabitants (which was small enough before) much smaller; so as Captain Gosnold seeing his whole strength to consist but of twelve men, and they but meanly provided, determined to return for England, leaving this island (which he called Elizabeth's Island) with as many true sorrowful eyes, as were before desirous to see it. So the 18th of June being Friday, we weighed, and with indifferent fair wind and weather, came to anchor the 23d of July, being also Friday, (in all, bare five weeks) before Exmouth.

Your Lordship's to command,

JOHN BRERETON.

A brief Note of such commodities as we saw in the country, notwithstanding our small time of stay.

Trees. Sassafras trees, the roots whereof at 3s. the pound, are 336l. the ton; cedars, tall and straight, in great abundance; cypress trees; oaks; walnut trees, great store; elms; beech; holly; hazlenut trees; cherry trees; cotton trees; other fruit to us unknown. The finder of our sassafras in these parts was one Master Robert Meriton.

Fowls. Eagles; hernshaws; cranes; bitterns; mallards; teals; geese; penguins; ospreys and hawks; crows; ravens; mews; doves; sea-pies; blackbirds, with carnation wings.

Beasts. Deer, in great store, very great and large; bears; luzernes; black foxes; beavers; otters; wild-cats, very large and great; dogs like foxes, black and sharp-nosed; conies.

Fruits, Plants and Herbs. Tobacco, excellent sweet and strong; vines, in more plenty than in France; ground-nuts, good meat, and also medicinable; stawberries; raspberries; gooseberries; whortleberries; pease, growing naturally; flax; iris florentina, whereof apothecaries make sweet balls; sorrel, and many other herbs wherewith they make salads.

Fishes. Whales; tortoises, both on land and sea; seals; cods; mackerel; breames; herrings; thornbacks; hakes; rockfish; dogfish; lobsters; crabs; muscles; wilks; cockles; scollops; oysters; snakes, four feet in length, and six inches about, which the Indians eat for dainty meat, the skins whereof they use for girdles.

Colors to dye with, red, white, and black.

Metals and Stones. Copper, in great abundance; emery stones, for glaziers and cutlers; alabaster, very white; stones glistening and shining like mineral stones; stones of a blue metalline color, which we take to be steel ore; stones of all sorts for buildings; clay, red and white, which may prove good terra sigillata.

A brief Note of the sending another Bark this present year, 1602, by the Honorable Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, for the searching out of his Colony in Virginia.

Samuel Mace, of Weymouth, a very sufficient mariner, an honest sober man, who had been at Virginia twice before, was employed thither by Sir Walter Raleigh, to find those people which were left there in the year 1587. To whose succor he hath sent five several times at his own charges. The parties by him set forth, performed nothing; some of them following their own profits elsewhere; others returning with frivolous allegations. At this last time, to avoid all excuse, he bought a bark, and hired all the company for wages

by the month ; who departing from Weymouth in March last, 1602, fell forty leagues to the south-westward of Hatteras, in thirty-four degrees or thereabout ; and having there spent a month ; when they came along the coast to seek the people, they did it not, pretending that the extremity of weather and loss of some principal ground-tackle, forced and feared them from searching the port of Hatteras, to which they were sent. From that place where they abode, they brought sassafras, radix chinæ, or the china root, Benjamin, cassia, lignea, and a rind of a tree more strong than any spice as yet known, with divers other commodities, which hereafter in a larger discourse may come to light.

A Treatise, containing important Inducements for the planting in these Parts, and finding a Passage that way to the South Sea and China.

The voyage which we intend is to plant Christian people and religion upon the North-west countries of America, in places temperate and well agreeing with our constitution, which though the same do lie between 40 and 44 degrees of latitude, under the parallels of Italy and France, yet are not they so hot ; by reason that the sun's heat is qualified in his course over the ocean, before he arriveth upon the coasts of America, attracting much vapor from the sea, which mitigation of his heat, we take for a benefit to us that intend to inhabit there ; because under the climate of 40 degrees, the same would be too vehement else for our bodies to endure.

These lands were never yet actually possessed by any Christian prince or people, yet often intended to be by the French nation, which long since had inhabited there, if domestic wars had not withheld them : notwithstanding the same are the rightful inheritance of her Majesty, being first discovered by our nation in the time of King Henry the seventh, under the conduct of John Cabot and his sons : by which title of first discovery, the kings of Portugal and Spain do hold and enjoy their ample and rich kingdoms in their Indies East and West ; and also lately planted in part by the colonies sent thither by the honorable knight Sir Walter Raleigh.

The course unto these countries, is through the ocean, altogether free from all restraint by foreign princes to be made ; whereunto other our accustomed trades are subject ; apt for most winds that can blow, to be performed commonly in thirty or thirty-five days. The coast fair, with safe roads and harbors for ships : many rivers.

These lands be fair and pleasant, resembling France, intermeddled with mountains, valleys, meadows, woodlands, and champaigns. The soil is exceeding strong, by reason it was never manured : and will be therefore most fit to bear at first, rape seeds, hemp, flax, and whatsoever else requireth such strong soil. Rape oils, and all sorts of oils, will be very commodious for England, which spendeth oils abundantly about clothing and leather-dressing. In like sort, hemp and flax are profitable, whether the same be sent into England, or wrought there by our people. Oad also will grow there as well or better than in Terçera.

The savages wear fair colors in some of their attire, whereby we hope to find rich dies and colors for painting.

The trees are for the most part cedars, pines, spruce, fir, and oaks to the northward. Of these trees will be drawn tar and pitch, rosin, turpentine, and soap ashes. They will make masts for the greatest ships of the world : excellent timbers of cedar, and boards for curious building.

The cliffs upon the coasts and mountains everywhere show great likelihood of minerals. A very rich mine of copper is found, whereof I have seen proof ; and the place described, not far from which there is great hope also of a silver mine. There be fair quarries of stone, of beautiful colors, for buildings.

The ground bringeth forth, without industry, pease, roses, grapes, hemp, besides other plants, fruits, herbs, and flowers, whose pleasant view and delectable smells, do demonstrate sufficiently the fertility and sweetness of that soil and air.

Beasts of many kinds ; some of the bigness of an ox, whose hides make good buff ; deer, both red and of other sorts in abundance ; luzerns, martens, sables, beavers, bears, otters, wolves, foxes, and squirrels, which to the northward are black, and accounted very rich furs.

Fowls both of the water and land, infinite store and variety ; hawks both short and long winged. Partridges in

abundance, which are very great, and easily taken. Birds great and small, some like unto our black birds, others like canary birds; and many (as well birds as other creatures) strange and differing from ours of Europe.

Fish, namely, cods, which as we incline more unto the south, are more large and vendible for England and France, than the Newland fish. Whales and seals in great abundances. Oils of them are rich commodities for England, whereof we now make soap, besides many other uses. *Item.* Tunneys, anchoves, bonits, salmons, lobsters, oysters having pearl, and infinite other sorts of fish, which are more plentiful upon those north-west coasts of America, than in any parts of the known world. Salt is reported to be found there, which else may be made there, to serve sufficiently for all fishing.

So as the commodities there to be raised both of the sea and land (after that we have planted our people skilful and industrious) will be fish, whale and seal oils, soap ashes and soap, tar and pitch, rosin and turpentine, masts, timber and boards of cedars, firs and pines, hemp, flax, cables and ropes, sail cloths, grapes, and raisins, and wines, corn, rape-seeds and oils, hides, skins, furs, dyes, and colors for painting. Pearls, metals, and other minerals.

These commodities before rehearsed, albeit for the most part they be gross, yet are the same profitable for the state of England, especially, as well in regard of the use of such commodities, as for the employment also of our people and ships; the want whereof, doth decay our towns and ports of England, and causeth the realm to swarm full with poor and idle people.

These commodities in like sort are of great use and estimation in all the south and western countries of Europe, namely, Italy, France, and Spain; for the which all nations that have been accustomed to repair unto the Newfoundland for the commodity of fish and oils alone, will henceforward forsake the Newfoundland, and trade with us, when once we have planted people in those parts; by whose industry shall be provided for all commerce, both fish and oils, and many commodities besides, of good importance and value. Then will the Spaniards and Portugals bring unto us in exchange of such commodities before mentioned, wines, sweet oils, fruits, spices, sugars, silks, gold and silver, or

whatsoever that Europe yieldeth, to supply our necessities and to increase our delights.

For which Spanish commodities and other sorts likewise, our merchants of England will bring unto us again, cloth, cattle, for our store and breed, and everything else that we shall need, or that England shall haply exchange for such commodities.

By this intercourse, our habitations will be made a staple of all vendible commodities of the world, and a means to vent a very great quantity of our English cloth into all the cold regions of America extending very far.

This intercourse also will be soon drawn together by this reason : that near adjoining upon the same coasts of Newfoundland, is the greatest fishing of the world ; whither do yearly repair about four hundred sails of ships, for no other commodity than fish and whale oils. Then forasmuch as merchants are diligent inquisitors after gains, they will soon remove their trade from Newfoundland unto us near at hand, for so great increase of gain as they shall make by trading with us. For whereas the voyage into the Newfoundland is into a more cold and intemperate place, not to be traded nor frequented at all times, nor fortified for security of the ships and goods : oft spoiled by pirates or men-of-war : the charges great for salt, double manning and double victualling their ships, in regard that the labor is great and the time long, before their lading can be ready ; they carry outwards no commodities for freight ; and after six months' voyage, their return is made but of fish and oils, contrariwise, by trading with us at our intended place, the course shall be in a manner as short ; into a more temperate and healthful climate ; at all times of the year to be traded ; harbors fortified to secure ships and goods : charges abridged of salt, victualling and manning ships double ; because lading shall be provided unto their hands at a more easy rate than themselves could make it. They shall carry freight also outward, to make exchange with us ; and so get profit both ways ; and then every four months they may make a voyage and return, of both fish and oils, and many other commodities of good worth.

These reasons advisedly weighed shall make our enterprise appear easy, and the most profitable of the world, for

our nation to undertake. The reasons we chiefly rely upon are these, namely :

1. Those lands which we intend to inhabit, shall minister unto our people, the subject and matter of many notable commodities.

2. England shall afford us people, both men, women and children, above ten thousand, which may very happily be spared from hence to work those commodities there.

3. Newfoundland shall minister shipping to carry away all our commodities, and to bring others unto us again for our supply.

Now two of these reasons are already effected unto our hands ; that is to say : the place where we shall find rich commodities, and ships to vent them. It remaineth only for our parts to carry and transport people with their provisions from England, where the misery and necessity of many cry out for such help and relief.

This considered, no nation of christendom is so fit for this action as England, by reason of our superfluous people (as I may term them) and of our long domestical peace, and after that we be once two hundred men strong, victualled and fortified, we cannot be removed by as many thousands.

For besides, that we have seen both in France and the low countries, where two hundred men well fortified and victualled, have kept out the forces both of the French and Spanish kings, even within their own kingdoms : it shall be also a matter of great difficulty, to transport an army over the ocean with victuals and munition, and afterwards to abide long siege abroad, against us fortified within, where the very elements and famine shall fight for us, though we should lie still and defend only.

The savages neither in this attempt shall hurt us, they being simple, naked and unarmed, destitute of edge tools or weapons ; whereby they are unable either to defend themselves or to offend us : neither is it our intent to provoke, but to cherish and win them into Christianity by fair means ; yet not to hurt them too far, but to provide against all accidents.

Then to conclude, as we of all other nations are most fit for a discovery and planting in remote places : even so, under the heavens there is no place to be found so conven-

ient for such a purpose ; by reason of the temperature, commodities apt fit for trade, and repair thither already of so many ships, which in any other frequented country cannot be procured in a man's age, nor with expense of half a million. So as the only difficulty now, is in our first preparation to transport some few people at the beginning ; the charges whereof shall be defrayed by our first return of fish and some commodities of sassafras, hides, skins and furs — which we shall also have by trading with the savages. The proof of which commodities shall encourage our merchants to venture largely in the next. The supply shall easily and continually be sent by ships, which yearly go from hence unto the Newfoundland and us ; and the intercourse and exchange we shall have with all nations repairing thither, shall store us with abundance of all things for our necessities and delights. Which reasons, if they had been foreseen of them that planted in the south part of Virginia, (which is a place destitute of good harbors, and far from all trade,) no doubt but if they had settled nearer unto this frequented trade in the Newfoundland they had by this time been a flourishing state, and plentiful in all things ; who also might then have made way into the bowels of that large continent, where assuredly we shall discover very goodly and rich kingdoms and cities.

It may also seem a matter of great consequence for the good and security of England, that out of these northerly regions we shall be able to furnish this realm of all manner of provisions for our navies : namely, pitch, rosin, cables, ropes, masts, and such like ; which shall be made within those her Majesty's own dominions, by her own subjects, and brought hither through the ocean, free from the restraint of any other prince : whereby the customs and charges bestowed by our merchants (to the enriching of foreign estates) shall be lessened, and turned to the benefit of her Highness and her deputies in those parts ; which also shall deliver our merchants from many troubles and molestations which they now unwillingly endure in our East trades ; and shall make us the less to doubt the malice of those States whom now we may not offend, lest we should be intercepted of the same provisions, to the weakening of our navy, the most royal defence of this noble realm.

Of a convenient Passage and Trade into the South Sea, under Temperate Regions, part by Rivers, and some part over Land in the Continent of America.

I will add hereunto an assured hope (grounded upon infallible reasons) of a way to be made part overland, and part by rivers or lakes, into the South Seas unto Cathay, China, and those passing rich countries, lying in the East parts of the world: which way or passage (supposed to be beyond the uttermost bounds of America, under the frozen zone) is nevertheless, held by the opinion of many learned writers and men of judgment now living, to be in these more temperate regions; and that the same shall never be made known, unless we plant first; whereby we shall learn as much by inquisition of the natural inhabitants, as by our own navigations. I will not herein rely upon reports made in the Frenchmen's discoveries; that the sea which giveth passage into Cathay, extendeth from the North, near unto the river of Canada, into 44 degrees, where the same of the savages is called Tadonac.

Neither upon the discoveries of Jaques Noel, who having passed beyond the three Saults, where Jaques Cartier left to discover, finding the river of St. Lawrence passable on the other side or branch; and afterwards, understood of the inhabitants; that the same river did lead into a mighty lake which at the entrance was fresh, but beyond, was bitter or salt, the end whereof was unknown.

Omitting therefore these hopes, I will ground my opinion upon reason and nature, which will not fail.

For this we know already, that great rivers have been discovered a thousand English miles into that continent of America; namely, that of St. Lawrence or Canada. But not regarding miles more or less, most assuredly, that and other known rivers there do descend from the highest parts or mountains, or middle of that continent, into our North sea. And like as those mountains do cast from them streams into our North seas; even so the like they do into the South sea, which is on the back of that continent.

For all mountains have their descents toward the seas

about them, which are the lowest places and proper mansions of water : and waters (which are contained in the mountains, as it were in cisterns,) descending naturally, do always resort unto the seas environing those lands ; for example : from the Alps confining Germany, France, and Italy, the mighty river Danube doth take his course east, and dischargeth into the Pontique sea : the Rhine north, and falleth into the German sea ; the Rhone, west, and goeth into the Mediterranean sea : the Po, south, is emptied into the Adriatic, or Gulf of Venice : other instances may be produced to like effect in Africa ; yea, at home amongst the mountains in England.

Seeing then in nature this cannot be denied, and by experience elsewhere is found to be so, I will show how a trade may be disposed more commodiously into the South sea through these temperate and habitable regions, than by the frozen zones in the supposed passages of north-west or north-east : where if the very moment be omitted of the time to pass, then are we like to be frozen in the seas or forced to winter in extreme cold and darkness like unto hell : or in the midst of summer, we shall be in peril to have our ships overwhelmed or crushed in pieces by hideous and fearful mountains of ice floating upon those seas.

Therefore four staple-places must be erected, when the most short and passable way is found : that is to say, two upon the north side, at the head and fall of the river ; and two others on the south side, at the head and fall also of that other river.

Provided, that ships may pass up those rivers unto the staples, so far as the same be navigable into the land : and afterwards, that boats with flat bottoms may also pass so high and near the heads of the rivers unto the staples, as possibly they can, even with less than two foot water, which cannot then be far from the heads ; as in the river of Chagre. That neck or space of land between the two heads of the said rivers, if it be one hundred leagues (which is not like) the commodities from the North and from the South Sea brought thither, may well be carried over the same upon horses, mules, or beasts of that country apt to labor (as the elk or buffel) or by the aid of many savages accustomed to burdens : who shall stead us greatly in these affairs.

It is moreover to be considered, that all these countries do yield (so far as is known) cedars, pines, fir trees and oaks, to build, mast, and yard ships ; wherefore we may not doubt, but that ships may be builded on the South Sea.

Then as ships on the south side may go and return to and from Cathay, China, and other most rich regions of the east world in five months or thereabouts ; even so the goods being carried over unto the north side, ships may come thither from England to fetch the same goods, and return by a voyage of four or five months usually.

So as in every four months may be returned into England the greatest riches of Cathay, China, Japan, and the rest which will be spices, drugs, musk, pearl, stones, gold, silver, silks, cloths of gold, and all manner of precious things, which shall recompense the time and labor of their transportation and carriage, if it were as far and dangerous as the Moors trade is from Fez and Morocco (over the burning and movable sands, in which they perish many times, and suffer commonly great distresses) unto the river called Niger in Africa, and from thence, up the said river many hundred miles ; afterwards over land again, unto the river Nilus ; and so unto Cairo in Egypt, from whence they return the way they came.

Or if it were a voyage so far as our merchants have made into Persia even to Ormus, by the way of the North, through Russia into the Caspian sea and so forth, with payment of many tolls. But this passage over and through the continent of America, as the same shall be always under temperate and habitable climates, and a pleasant passage after it hath been a little frequented : even so it must fall out much shorter than it seemeth, by false description of that continent, which doth not extend so far into the west as by later navigations is found and described in more exquisite charts. Besides that, the sea extends itself into the land very far in many places on the south side : whereby access into the South ocean, shall be by so much the shorter.

Inducements to the liking of the Voyage intended towards Virginia in 40 and 42 degrees of latitude, written 1585, by M. Richard Hakluyt the elder some time Student of the Middle Temple.

The glory of God by planting of religion among those infidels.

2. The increase of the force of the Christians.

3. The possibility of the enlarging of the dominions of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and consequently of her honor, revenues, and of her power by this enterprise.

4. An ample vent in time to come of the woollen cloths of England, especially those of the coarsest sorts, to the maintenance of our poor, that else starve or become burdensome to the realm; and vent also of sundry other commodities upon the tract of that firm land, and possibly in other regions from the northern side of that main.

5. A great possibility of further discoveries of other regions from the north part of the same land by sea, and of unspeakable honor and benefit that may rise upon the same, by the trades to ensue in Japan, China, and Cathay, &c.

6. By return thence, this realm shall receive (by reason of the situation of the climate, and by reason of the excellent soil) oade, oil, wines, hops, salt, and most or all the commodities that we receive from the best parts of Europe, and we shall receive the same better cheap, than now we receive them, as we may use the matter.

7. Receiving the same thence, the navy, the human strength of this realm, our merchants and their goods shall not be subject to arrest of ancient enemies and doubtful friends, as of late years they have been.

8. If our nation do not make any conquest there, but only use traffic and change of commodities, yet by mean the country is not very mighty, but divided into petty kingdoms, they shall not dare to offer us any great annoy, but such as we may easily revenge with sufficient chastisement to the unarmed people there.

9. Whatsoever commodities we receive by the Steeleyard merchants, or by our own merchants from Eastland, be it

flax, hemp, pitch, tar, masts, clap-boards, wainscot, or such like; the like good may we receive from the north and north-east part of that country near unto Cape Briton in return for our coarse woollen cloths, flannels and rugs, fit for those colder regions.

10. The passage to and fro is through the main ocean sea, so as we are not in danger of any enemy's coast.

11. In the voyage, we are not to cross the burnt zone, nor to pass through frozen seas encumbered with ice and fogs, but in temperate climate at all times of the year, and it requireth not as the East India voyage doth, the taking in of water in divers places by reason that it is to be sailed in five or six weeks: and by the shortness, the merchant may yearly make two returns (a factory being once erected there) a matter in trade of great moment.

12. In this trade by the way in our pass to and fro, we have in tempests and other haps, all the ports of Ireland to our aid, and no near coast of any enemy.

13. By this ordinary trade we may annoy the enemies to Ireland, and succor the Queen's Majesty's friends there and in time we may from Virginia yield them whatsoever commodity they now receive from the Spaniard: and so the Spaniards shall want the ordinary victual that heretofore they received yearly from thence, and so they shall not continue trade, nor fall so aptly in practice against this government as now by their trade thither they may.

14. We shall, as it is thought, enjoy in this voyage, either some small islands to settle on, or some one place or other on the firm land to fortify for the safety of our ships, our men and our goods, the like whereof we have not in any former place of our traffic, in which respect we may be in degree of more safety and more quiet.

15. The great plenty of buff hides, and of many other sundry kinds of hides there now presently to be had, the trade of whale and seal fishing, and of divers other fishings in the great rivers, great bays, and seas there, shall presently defray the charge in good part or in all of the first enterprise and so we shall be in better case than our men were in Russia where many years were spent, and great sums of money consumed, before gain was found.

16. The great broad rivers of that main that we are to

enter into so many leagues navigable or portable into the main land, lying so long a tract with so excellent and so fertile a soil on both sides, do seem to promise all things that the life of man doth require, and whatsoever men may wish, that are to plant upon the same or to traffic in the same.

17. And whatsoever notable commodities the soil within or without doth yield in so long a tract that is to be carried out from thence to England, the same rivers so great and deep, do yield no small benefit for the sure, safe, easy and cheap carriage of the same to shipboard, be it of a great bulk or of great weight.

18. And in like sort whatsoever commodity of England the inland people there shall need, the same rivers do work the like effect in benefit for the incarriage of the same, aptly, easily and cheaply.

19. If we find the country populous, and desirous to expel us, and infuriously to offend us, that seek but just and lawful traffic, then by reason that we are lords of navigation, and they not so, we are the better able to defend ourselves by reason of those great rivers, and to annoy them in many places.

20. Where there be many petty kings or lords planted on the river's sides, and by all likelihood maintain the frontiers of their several territories by wars, we may by the aid of this river join with this king here, or with that king there, at our pleasure, and may so with a few men be revenged of any wrong offered by any of them; or may if we will proceed with extremity, conquer, fortify, and plant in soils most sweet, most pleasant, most strong, and most fertile, and in the end bring them all in subjection and to civility.

21. The known abundance of fresh fish in the rivers, and the known plenty of fish on the sea coast there may assure us of sufficient victual in spite of the people, if we will use salt and industry.

22. The known plenty and variety of flesh, of divers kinds of beasts at land there, may seem to say to us that we may cheaply victual our navies to England for our returns, which benefit everywhere is not found of merchants.

23. The practice of the people of the East Indies, when the Portugals came thither first, was to cut from the Portu-

gals their lading of spice and hereby they thought to overthrow their purposed trade. If these people shall practise the like, by not suffering us to have any commodity of theirs without conquest, (which requireth some time,) yet may we maintain our first voyage thither, till our purpose come to effect, by the sea fishing on the coasts there, and by dragging for pearls, which are said to be in those parts; and by return of those commodities, the charges in part shall be defrayed; which is a matter of consideration in enterprises of charge.

24. If this realm shall abound too much with youth, in the mines there of gold, (as that of Chisca and Saguenay) of silver, copper, iron, &c. may be an employment to the benefit of this realm; in tilling of the rich soil there for grain, and in planting of vines there for wine; or dressing of those vines which grow there naturally in great abundance. Olives for oil; orange trees, lemons, figs, and almonds for fruit; oad, saffron, and madder for dyers; hops for brewers; hemp, flax; and in many such other things by employment of the soil, our people void of sufficient trades may be honestly employed, that else may become hurtful at home.

25. The navigating of the seas in the voyage, and of the great rivers there, will breed many mariners for service and maintain much navigation.

26. The number of raw hides there of divers kinds of beasts, if we shall possess some island there, or settle on the firm, may presently employ many of our idle people in divers several dressings of the same, and so we may return them to the people that cannot dress them so well; or into this realm where the same are good merchandise; or to Flanders, &c. which present game at the first, raiseth great encouragement presently to the enterprise.

27. Since great waste woods be there, of oak, cedar, pine, walnuts and sundry other sorts, many of our waste people may be employed in making of ships, hoies, busses, and boats; and in making of rosin, pitch and tar, the trees natural for the same, being certainly known to be near Cape Briton and the Bay of Menan, and in many other places thereabout.

28. If mines of white or gray marble, jet or other rich stone be found there, our idle people may be employed in

the mines of the same, and in preparing the same to shape and so shaped, they may be carried into this realm as good ballast for our ships, and after serve for noble buildings.

29. Sugar-canes may be planted as well as they are now in the south of Spain, and besides the employment of our idle people, we may receive the commodity cheaper, and not enrich infidels or our doubtful friends, of whom now we receive that commodity.

30. The daily great increase of wools in Spain and the like in the West Indies, and the great employment of the same into cloth in both places, may move us to endeavor, for vent of our cloth, new discoveries of peopled regions, where hope of sale may arise; otherwise in short time many inconveniences may possibly ensue.

31. This land that we propose to direct our course to, lying in part in the 40 degree of latitude, being in like heat as Lisbon in Portugal doth, and in the more southerly part as the most southerly coast of Spain doth, may by our diligence yield unto us besides wines and oils and sugars, oranges, lemons, figs, raisins, almonds, pomegranates, rice, raw silks such as come from Grenada, and divers commodities for dyers, as anile and cochenillio, and sundry other colors and materials. Moreover we shall not only receive many precious commodities besides from thence, but also shall in time find ample vent of the labor of our poor people at home, by sale of hats, bonnets, knives, fish hooks, copper kettles, beads, looking glasses, bugles and a thousand kinds of other wrought wares, that in short time may be brought in use among the people of that country, to the great relief of the multitude of our poor people, and to the wonderful enriching of this realm. And in time, such league and intercourse may arise between our stapling seats there, and other ports of our Northern America, and of the islands of the same, that incredible things, and by few as yet dreamed of may speedily follow, tending to the impeachment of our mighty enemies and to the common good of this noble government.

The ends of this voyage are these: 1. To plant christian religion. 2. To traffic. 3. To conquer. Or to do all three.

To plant Christian religion without conquest, will be

hard : traffic easily followeth conquest : conquest is not easy : traffic without conquest seemeth possible, and not uneasy. What is to be done is the question.

If the people be content to live naked and to content themselves with few things of mere necessity, then traffic is not. So then in vain seemeth our voyage, unless this nature may be altered, as by conquest and other good means it may be, but not on a sudden. The like whereof appeared in the East Indies, upon the Portugals seating there.

If the people in the inland be clothed, and desire to live in the abundance of all such things as Europe doth, and have at home all the same in plenty, yet we cannot have traffic with them, by mean they want not anything that we can yield them.

Admit that they have desire to your commodities, and as yet have neither gold, silver, copper, iron, nor sufficient quantity of other present commodity to maintain the yearly trade : what is then to be done ?

The soil and climate first is to be considered, and you are with argus eyes to see what commodity by industry of man you are able to make it to yield, that England doth want or doth desire : as for the purpose, if you can make it to yield good wine and good oil, as it is like you may by the climate (where wild vines of sundry sorts do naturally grow already in great abundance,) then your trade may be maintained. But admit the soil were in our disposition (as yet it is not,) in what time may this be brought about ?

For wine this is to be affirmed, that first the soil lying in 36 or 37 degrees in the temperature of south Spain, in setting your vine plants this year, you may have wine within three years, and it may be that the wild vines growing there already, by orderly pruning and dressing at your first arrival, may come to profit in shorter time.

And planting your olive trees this year, you may have oil within three years.

And if the sea-shores be flat, and fit for receipt of salt water and for salt making, without any annoy of near freshes, then the trade of salt only may maintain a yearly navigation, (as our men now trade to the isle of Maio, and the

Hollanders to Terra Firma, near by the west end of the isle of Marguerita.)

But how the natural people of the country may be made skilful to plant vines, and to know the use, or to set olive trees, and to know the making of oil, and withal to use both the trades, that is a matter of small consideration; but to conquer a country or province in climate and soil of Italy, Spain, or the islands from whence we receive our wines and oils, and to man it, to plant it, and to keep it, and to continue the making of wines and oils able to serve England, were a matter of great importance both in respect of the saving at home of our great treasure now yearly going away, and in respect of the annoyance thereby growing to our enemies.

The like consideration would be had touching a place for the making of salt, of temperature like those of France, not too cold as the salts of the northern regions be: nor too fiery as those be that be made more southerly than France. In regard whereof, many circumstances are to be considered: and principally, by what means the people of those parties may be drawn by all courtesy into love with our nation: that we become not hateful unto them, as the Spaniard is in Italy, and in the West Indies and elsewhere, by the manner of usage: for a gentle course without cruelty and tyranny best answereth the profession of a christian, best planteth christian religion; maketh our seating most void of blood, most profitable in trade of merchandise, most firm and stable, and least subject to remove by practice of enemies. But that we may in seating there, not to be subject wholly to the malice of enemies, and may be more able to preserve our bodies, ships and goods in more safety, and to be known to be more able to scourge the people there, civil or savage, than willing to offer any violence. And for the more quiet exercise of our manurance of the soils where we shall seat, and of our manual occupations, it is to be wished that some ancient captains of mild disposition and great judgment be sent thither, with men most skilful in the art of fortification; and that direction be taken that the mouths of great rivers, and the islands in the same (as things of great moment) be taken, manned and fortified; and that havens be cut out for safety of the navy, that we may be lords of the gates and

entries, to go out and come in at pleasure, and to lie in safety, and be able to command and to control all within, and to force all foreign navigation to lie out in open road subject to all weathers, to be dispersed by tempests and flaws, if the force within be not able to give them the encounter abroad.

The red Muscatel grape, that Bishop Grindal procured out of Germany; the great white Muscatel, the yellow grape; the cuts of these were wont yearly to be set at Fulham; and after one year's rooting to be given by the bishop and to be sold by his gardener. These presently provided and placed in earth, and many of these so rooted, with store of cuts unrooted besides, placed in tubs of earth shipped at the next voyage, to be planted in Virginia, may begin vineyards, and bring wines out of hand.

2. Provision great of wild olive trees may be made out of this city so then to be carried, to increase great store of stocks to graft the best olive on: and Virginia standing in the same degree that the Shroffe, the olive place doth in Spain, we may win that merchandise, grafting the wild.

3. Sugar canes, if you cannot procure them from the Spanish islands, yet may you by your Barbary merchants procure them.

4. There is an herb in Persia whereof anil is made, and it is also in Barbary: to procure that by seed or root were of importance for a trade of merchandise for our clothing country.

5. Woad by the seeds you may have; for you may have hundreds of bushels in England, as it is multiplied: and having soil and labor in Virginia cheap, and the woad in great value, lying in small room, it will be a trade of great gain to this clothing realm: and the thing cannot be destroyed by savages. The roots of this you may have in plenty and number coming in the trade: so this may grow in trade within a year ready for the merchant.

6. Fig trees of many good kinds may be had hence in barrel, if now presently they be provided: and they in that climate will yield noble fruit and feed your people presently, and will be brought in frails home as merchandise, or in barrels as raisins also may be.

7. Sawed boards of sassafras and cedar, to be turned into

small boxes for ladies and gentlemen, would become as present trade.

8. To the infinite natural increase of hogs, to add a device how the same may be fed by roots, acorns, &c. without spoiling your corn, would be of great effect to feed the multitude continually employed in labor : and the same cheaply bred and salted, and barrelled there and brought home, will be well sold for a good merchandise ; and the barrels after, will serve for our home herring fishing, and so you sell your woods and the labor of your cooper.

9. Receiving the savage women and their children of both sexes by courtesy into your protection, and employing the English women and the others in making of linen, you shall raise a wonderful trade of benefit, both to carry into England and also into the islands, and into the main of the West Indies, victual and labor being so cheap there.

10. The trade of making cables and cordage there will be of great importance, in respect of a cheap maintenance of the navy that shall pass to and fro ; and in respect of such navy as may in those parties be used for the venting of the commodities of England to be brought thither, and Powldanies, &c. made for sails of the poor savages, yield to the navy a great help, and a great gain in the traffic.

But if seeking revenge on every injury of the savages we seek blood and raise war, our vines, our olives, our fig trees, our sugar canes, our oranges and lemons, corn, cattle, &c., will be destroyed, and trade of merchandise in all things overthrown ; and so the English nation there planted and to be planted, shall be rooted out with sword and hunger.

Sorts of men which are to be passed in this Voyage.

1. Men skilful in all mineral causes.
2. Men skilful in all kind of drugs.
3. Fishermen, to consider of the sea fishings there on the coasts, to be reduced to trade hereafter : and others for the fresh water fishings.
4. Salt makers, to view the coast, and to make trial how rich the sea-water there is to advise for the trade.
5. Husbandmen, to view the soil, to resolve for tillage in all sorts.

6. Vineyard-men bred, to see how the soil may serve for the planting of vines.

7. Men bred in the Shroffe in South Spain, for discerning how olive trees may be planted there.

8. Others for planting of orange trees, fig trees, lemon trees and almond trees ; for judging how the soil may serve for the same.

9. Gardeners, to prove the several soils of the islands, and of our settling places, to see how the same may serve for all herbs and roots for our victualling ; since by rough seas sometimes we may want fish, and since we may want flesh to victual us, by the malice of the natural people there ; and gardeners for planting of our common trees of fruit, as pears, apples, plums, peaches, medlers, apricots, quinces, for conserves, &c.

10. Lime makers to make lime for buildings.

11. Masons, carpenters, &c. for buildings there.

12. Brick-makers and tile-makers.

13. Men cunning in the art of fortification, that may choose out places strong by nature to be fortified, and that can plot out and direct workmen.

14. Choice spade men, to trench cunningly, and to raise bulwarks and rampiers of earth for defence and offence.

15. Spade-makers, that may out of the woods there make spades like those of Devonshire, and of other sorts, and shovels from time to time of common use.

16. Smiths, to forge the grooves of the shovels and spades and to make black bills and other weapons, and to mend many things.

17. Men that use to break ash trees for pike staves, to be employed in the woods there.

18. Others, that finish up the same so rough hewed, such as in London are to be had.

19. Coopers, to make casks of all sorts.

20. Forgers of pikes heads and of arrow heads with forgers with Spanish groove, and with all manner of tools to be carried with them.

21. Fletchers, to renew arrows, since archery prevaieth much against unarmed people ; and gunpowder may soon perish, by setting on fire.

22. Bowyers also, to make bows there for need.

23. Makers of oars since for service upon those rivers it

is to great purpose, for the boats and barges they are to pass and enter with.

24. Shipwrights to make barges and boats and bigger vessels, if need be, to run along the coast, and to pierce the great bays and inlets.

25. Turners to turn targets of elm and tough wood, for use against the darts and arrows of savages.

26. Such also as have knowledge to make targets of horn.

27. Such also as can make armor of hides upon moulds, such as were wont to be made in this realm about an hundred years since, and were called Scottish jacks: such armor is light and defensive enough against the force of savages.

28. Tanners, to tan hides of buffs, oxen, &c. in the isles where you shall plant.

29. White tanners of all other skins there.

30. Men skilful in burning of soap ashes, and in making of pitch and tar, and rosin, to be fetched out of Prussia and Poland, which are thence to be had for small wages being there in manner of slaves.

The several sorts of trees, as pines, firs, spruces, birch and others, are to be bored with great augers a foot or half a yard above the ground, as they use in Vesely towards Languedock and near Bayona in Gascoigne; and so you shall easily and quickly see what gums, rosin, turpentine tar or liquor is in them, which will quickly distil out clearly without any filthy mixture, and will shew what commodity may be made of them; their goodness and greatness for masts is also to be considered.

31. A skilful painter is also to be carried with you, which the Spaniards used commonly in all their discoveries to bring the descriptions of all beasts, birds, fishes, trees, towns, &c.

A brief Note of the Corn, Fowls, Fruits and Beasts of the Inland of Florida on the backside of Virginia, taken out of the forty-fourth Chapter of the Discovery of the said Country, begun by Fernando De Soto, Governor of Cuba, in the year of Lord, 1539.

The bread which they eat in all the land of Florida is of

maize, which is like to coarse millet. And in all the Islands and West Indies from the Antiles forward there is this maize.

Likewise in Florida there be many walnuts, plums, mulberries, and grapes. They sow their maize, and gather it, every man his own crop. The fruits are common to all men, because they grow abundantly in the fields without planting or dressing. In the mountains there grow chestnuts: they are somewhat smaller than the chestnuts of Spain, which are called collarinnas. From Rio Grande toward the west, the walnuts are differing from the other, for they are softer and round like bullets, and from Rio Grande toward Puerto del Spirito Santo eastward, for the most part they are harder, and the trees and nuts are like in fashion unto those of Spain. There is in all the country a fruit which groweth upon an herb or plant like to the herb called dogs-tongue, which the Indians do sow. The fruit is like unto the Peres rial; it is of a very good relish, and of a pleasant taste. Another herb groweth in the fields, which beareth a fruit near the ground like a strawberry; very pleasant in taste. The plums are of two sorts, red and gray, in fashion and bigness of walnuts, and have three or four stones in them. These are better than any in Spain, and they make better prunes of them. The want of dressing is perceived only in the grapes: which although they be great yet they have a great kernel. All the rest of the fruits are very perfect, and less hurtful than those of Spain. There are in Florida many bears, lions, stags, roebucks, wild cats, and conies.

There be many wild hens as big as peacocks, small partridges like those of Africa, cranes, ducks, rolas, black birds, and sparrows. There be certain black birds bigger than sparrows and lesser than stares.

There be low hawks, falcons, goshawks, and all fowls of prey that are in Spain.

The Indians are well proportioned. Those of the plain countries are taller of stature and better proportioned than those of the mountains. Those of the inland are better furnished with corn and wealth of the country, than those of the sea coast. The country on the sea coast toward the Gulf of Mexico is barren and poor, and the people more

warlike. The coast beareth from Puerto del Spirit Santo unto Apalache, and from Apalache to Rio de Palmas almost from east to west ; from Rio de Palmas unto Nova Hispaniola it runneth from north to south. It is a gentle coast, but it hath many shoals and banks or shelves of sand.

A Note of such Commodities as are found in Florida next adjoining unto the South Part of Virginia, taken out of the Description of the said Country written by Monsieur Rene Laudonniere, who inhabited there two Summers and one Winter.

The country of Florida is flat, and divided with divers rivers, and therefore moist, and is sandy towards the sea shore.

There groweth in those parts great quantity of pine trees, which have no kernels in the apples that they bear.

Their woods are full of oaks, walnut trees, black cherry trees, mulberry trees, lentiskes which yield mastich, and chestnut trees, which are more wild than those of France.

There is great store of cedars, cyresses, bays, palm trees, grapes : There is there a kind of medlars, the fruit whereof is better than that of France and bigger. There are also plum trees, which bear very fair fruit, but such as is not very good.

There are raspberries, and a little berry which we call among us blues, which are very good to eat.

There grow in that country a kind of roots, which they call in their language hazes whereof in necessity they make bread.

There is also the tree called esquine (which I take to be the sassafras) which is very good against the pocks and other contagious diseases.

The beasts best known in this country are stags, roes, deer, goats, leopards, ounces, lucerns, divers sorts of wolves, wild dogs, hares, conies, and a certain kind of beast that differeth little from the lion of Africa.

The fowls are turkey-cocks, partridges, parrots, pigeons, ring-doves, turtles, blackbirds, crows, tercelles, falcons, leonards, herons, cranes, storks, wild geese, mallards, cormorants,

herneshaws, white, red, black, and gray, and an infinite sort of all wild fowl. There is such abundance of crocodiles that oftentimes in swimming, men are assailed by them; of serpents there are many sorts.

There is found among the savages good quantity of gold and silver, which is gotten out of the ships that are lost upon the coast: Nevertheless they say, that in the mountains of Apalatcy, there are mines of copper, which I think to be gold.

There is also in this country, great store of grains and herbs, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kind of colors.

They sow their maize or corn twice a year, to wit, in March and in June: and all in one and the same soil. The said maize from the time that it is sowed, unto the time that it is gathered, is but three months in the ground. They have also fair pumpkins and very good beans. They have certain kinds of oil, wherewith they use to anoint themselves.

A brief Extract of the merchantable Commodities found in the South part of Virginia, Anno 1585 and 1586, gathered out of the learned Work of Master Thomas Herriot, which was there remaining the space of eleven months.

Silk of grass, or grass silk, the like whereof groweth in Persia, whereof I have seen good grograine made.

Worm silk.

Flax and hemp.

Alum.

Wapeih, a kind of earth so called by the natural inhabitants, very like to terra sigillata, and by some of our physicians found more effectual.

Pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine; there are those kinds of trees that yield them abundantly and in great store.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants wynauk: of whose sovereign and manifold virtues, read Monardes, the physician of Sicily, in his books entitled in English, *The joyful news from the West Indies*.

Cedar.

Wines of two sorts.

Oil: there are two sorts of walnuts, both holding oil. Furthermore, there are three several kinds of berries, in the form of oak acorns, which also by the experience and use of the inhabitants, we find to yield very good and sweet oil. There are also bears, which are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many, their fatness, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oil, and hath many special uses.

Furs.

Otters, martins, and lucerns.

Deer skins.

Civet cats.

Iron.

Copper. The aforesaid copper, we also found by trial to hold silver.

Pearl. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from the savages, above five thousand.

Sweet gums, of divers kinds, and many other apothecary drugs.

Dyes, of divers kinds.

There is sumach, well known and used in England for black: the seed of an herb called wasebur, little small roots called chäppacor, and the bark of a tree called by the inhabitants, tangomockonomindge, which dyes are for divers sorts of red.

Commodities in Virginia known to yield victuals.

Pagatour, or mays, which is their principal corn.

Okindgier, called by us beans.

Wickonzour, called by us pease.

Macocquer, called by us pumpkins, melons and gourds.

An herb which in Dutch is called melden, being a kind of orage, &c.

An herb in form of a marigold, six feet in height, taken to be *planta solis*.

Oppowoc, or tobacco, of great estimation among the savages.

Roots.

Openauk, a kind of roots of round form, as big as wal-

nuts, some far greater. Monardes calleth them beads, or pater nostri of Sancta Helena, and Master Brereton ground-nuts.

Okeepenauk, are roots of round shape found in dry grounds, the inhabitants use to boil and eat many of them.

Tsinaw, a kind of root much like unto that which in England is called the China root, brought from the East Indies.

Coscushaw, a root taken to be that which the Spaniards in the West Indies do call cassavy.

Habascon, a root of hot taste, almost of the form and bigness of a parsnip.

Leekes, differing little from ours in England.

Fruits.

Chestnuts there are in divers places great store, used divers ways for food.

Walnuts, there are two kinds, and of them infinite store in many places, where are very great woods for many miles together; the third part of the trees are walnut trees; they use them for meat, and make a milk of them of very pleasant taste and wholesome.

Medlers, a kind of very good fruit; they are as red as cherries, and very luscious sweet.

Mutaquesunnauk, a kind of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bigness of English pears, but they are of a perfect red color, as well within as without; they grow on a plant whose leaves are very thick and full of prickles, as sharp as needles: some which have been in Nova Hispania, where they have seen that kind of red dye of exceeding great price, which is called cochineal, to grow, do describe this plant right like unto this of mutaquesunnauk, howbeit the cochineal is not the fruit, but a grain found on the leaves of the plant, and stricken off upon sheets, and dried in the sun.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberries there are, as good and as great as in any English garden.

Mulberries, apple-crabs, hurts or whortleberries, such as we have in England.

Sacquenummener, a kind of berries almost like unto capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters upon a plant or herb that is found in shallow waters, being boiled eight or nine hours according to their kind, are very good meat and wholesome, otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantic, or extremely sick.

A reed which beareth a seed almost like unto our rye or wheat, and being boiled is good meat.

In our travels in some places, we found wild pease like unto ours in England, but that they were less, which are also good meat.

A kind of berry like unto an acorn, of five sorts, growing on several kinds of trees: the one sort is called sagatamener, the second, osamener, the third, pummuckoner; the inhabitants use to dry them upon hurdles like malt in England; when they use them, they first water them till they be soft, and then being sod they make loaves of bread of them; of these three kinds also the inhabitants do use to make sweet oil.

The fourth sort is called sopummener, which being boiled or parched be like unto roasted chestnuts; of this sort they make bread also.

The fifth sort is called mangummenauk, the very acorn of their kind of oak, being dried as the rest, and after watered, they boil them, and their servants and sometimes the chiefs themselves eat them with their fish and flesh.

Beasts.

Deer, up into the country very great, and in some places, great store.

Conies, of a grey color, like unto hares; they make mantles of the fur or flue of their skins.

Saquennekot and maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater than conies, which are very good meat.

Squirrels, which are of a grey color, we have taken and eaten.

Bears, which are of black color. They are good meat, and being hunted they climb up into trees, and are killed by the savages with their arrows, and sometimes by us with our carbines.

The lion is sometimes killed by the savages and eaten.

Wolves, or wolfish dogs.

I have the names of eight-and-twenty sorts of beasts dispersed in the main, of which there are only twelve kinds by us as yet discovered.

Fowls.

Turkey cocks and turkey hens, stock doves and partridges, cranes, herons, and in winter great store of swans and geese.

There are also parrots, falcons and marlin hawks.

Of all sorts of fowls, I have the names in the country language of fourscore and six.

Fish.

Sturgeons, herrings, porpoises, trouts, rayes, alewives, mullets, plaice, and very many other sorts of very excellent fish.

Sea crabs, oysters, great, small, round, long muscles, scollops, periwinkles, and crevices.

Seekanauk, a kind of crusty shell-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in breadth, having a crusty tail, many legs like a crab, and her eyes in her back. They are found in shallows of water, and sometimes on the shore.

Tortoises, both of land and sea kind ; they are very good meat, and their eggs also.

Certain brief Testimonies touching sundry rich Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, in part found, and in part constantly heard of in North Florida and the inland of the main of Virginia, and other countries thereunto on the North part near adjoining, gathered out of the Works, all (one excepted) extant in print, of such as were personal travellers in those countries.

1. In the second relation of Jaques Cartier, the twelfth chapter, he reporteth that he understood by Donnacona, the king of the country, and others, that to the south-west of Canada there are people clad with cloth, as the French were,

very honest, and many inhabited towns, and that they have great store of gold and red copper, &c.

2. In the discovery of the island of Florida, far to the north, begun by Fernando de Soto, governor of Cuba, in the year 1539, (and to be seen in print in the hands of Master Richard Hackluyt.) The Indians in many places far distant the one from the other, gave them often and certain advertisement, that beyond the mountains northward there were mines of gold at a place called by them Chisca, and some shewed the manner which the Indians used in refining the same. This place in mine opinion cannot be far from the great river that falleth into the south-west part of the bay of Chesapeake.

3. The Indians informed Monsieur Rene Laudonniere in Florida, that there were mines of red metal, which they call in their language sieroa pira, in the mountains of Apalache, which upon trial made thereof by the French, was found perfect gold, as appeareth pagina 352. In the third volume of the English voyages, and in the same relation there is very often mention of silver, and excellent perfect and fair pearls found by the French in those parts.

4. In the late discovery of New Mexico made by Antonio de Espeio, on the back side of Virginia, extant in Spanish and English in the third volume of the English voyages, paginas 303, &c., there is mention of rich silver mines (and sometimes of gold in abundance) eleven or twelve times found as they travelled northward, by men very skilful in mineral matters, which went in the voyage for that purpose. The large description and chart of which voyage containing great numbers of towns, and divers great rivers discovered in that action made in Mexico by Francisco Xamuscado, 1585, being intercepted afterward by the English at sea, we have in London to be shewed to such as shall have occasion to make use of the same.

5. The constant report of many of the savages to the worshipful Master Ralph Lane, then governor of the English colony in Virginia, of the rich mine of wassador or gold at a place by them named Chaunis Temoatam, twenty days' journey overland from the Mangoaks, set down by himself at large in the first part of his relation of the said country of Virginia, extant in the third volume of the English voyages,

pagina 258, is much to be regarded and considered by those that intend to prosecute this new enterprise of planting near unto those parts.

6. I could give large information of the large copper mine in the east side of the Bay of Menan, within thirty or forty leagues to the southwest of Cape Breton, whereof I myself have seen above an hundred pieces of the copper, and have shewed some part thereof to divers knights of quality, as also of salt as good as that of Burnage in France, found near that Bay, and could make proof of the testimony of the savages touching a silver mine in another Bay, within two or three leagues to the west of the aforesaid Bay of Menan. But I reserve a further relation hereof to a more convenient time and place.

7. If it please any man to read the summary of Gonsalvo de Oniedo, extant in part of the English decades of the voyage of Sebastian Cabot, along this coast of Virginia and Norumbega; and the short relation of John de Verarsana, which ranged the said coast long after him in the year 1524, which is also to be seen in the third volume of the English voyages, pagina 298, he shall find often mention of rich mineral and store of excellent copper, which so long ago they saw among the savages, they being the first known Christians that ever saw those coasts, so that it were more than wilful madness to doubt of rich mines to be in the aforesaid countries.

THE END.



A

TRUE RELATION

OF THE

MOST PROSPEROUS VOYAGE MADE THIS PRESENT YEAR, 1605,

BY CAPTAIN GEORGE WAYMOUTH,

IN THE DISCOVERY OF

THE LAND OF VIRGINIA,

WHERE HE DISCOVERED, SIXTY MILES UP, A MOST EXCELLENT RIVER ;

TOGETHER WITH A MOST FERTILE LAND.

WRITTEN BY JAMES ROSIER,

A GENTLEMAN EMPLOYED IN THE VOYAGE.

LONDONI :
IMPENSIS GEOR. BISHOP.
1605.

[In the fourth volume of Purchas's Pilgrims is a Chapter containing extracts from this work. The whole is here reprinted from a transcript procured in England by Professor Sparks, and communicated by F. C. Gray.]

TO THE READER.

Being employed in this voyage by the right honorable Thomas Arundell, Baron of Warder, to take due notice, and make true report of the discovery therein performed: I became very diligent to observe (as much as I could) whatsoever was material or of consequence in the business, which I collected into this brief summary, intending upon our return to publish the same. But he soon changed the course of his intendments; and long before our arrival in England had so far engaged himself with the Archduke, that he was constrained to relinquish this action. But the commodities and profits of the country, together with the fitness of plantation, being by some honorable gentlemen of good worth and quality, and merchants of good sufficiency and judgment duly considered, have at their own charge, (intending both their private and the common benefit of their country) undertaken the transporting of a Colony for the plantation thereof; being much encouraged thereunto by the gracious favor of the King's Majesty himself, and divers Lords of his Highness' most Honorable Privy Council. After these purposed designs were concluded, I was animated to publish this brief relation, and not before; because some foreign nation (being fully assured of the fruitfulness of the country) have hoped hereby to gain some knowledge of the place, seeing they could not allure our Captain or any special man of our company, to combine with them for their direction, nor obtain their purpose, in conveying away our savages, which was busily in practice. And this is the cause that I have neither written of the latitude or variation most exactly observed by our Captain with sundry instruments, which together with his perfect geographical map of the country, he intendeth hereafter to set forth. I have likewise purposedly

omitted here to add a collection of many words in their language, to the number of four or five hundred, as also the names of divers of their Governors, as well their friends as their enemies ; being reserved to be made known for the benefit of those that shall go in the next voyage. But our particular proceedings in the whole discovery, the commodious situation of the river, the fertility of the land, with the profits there to be had, and here reported, I refer to be verified by the whole company, as being eye-witnesses of my words, and most of them near inhabitants upon the Thames. So with my prayers to God for the conversion of so ingenious and well-disposed people, and for the prosperous successive events of the noble intenders the prosecution thereof, I rest

Your friend,

J. R.

A TRUE RELATION OF CAPTAIN GEORGE WAYMOUTH, HIS
VOYAGE MADE THIS PRESENT YEAR 1605, IN THE DIS-
COVERY OF THE NORTH PART OF VIRGINIA.

UPON Tuesday, the 5th day of March, about ten o'clock before noon, we set sail from Ratcliffe, and came to an anchor that tide about two o'clock before Gravesend.

From thence the 10th of March, being Sunday, at night, we anchored in the Downs, and there rode till the next day about three o'clock afternoon, when with a scant wind we set sail; and by reason the wind continued southwardly, we were beaten up and down: but on Saturday, the sixteenth day, about four o'clock afternoon, we put into Dartmouth Haven, where the continuance of the wind at south and south-west, constrained us to ride till the last of this month. There we shipped some of our men, and supplied necessaries for our ship and voyage.

Upon Easter day, being the last of March, the wind coming at north-north-east, about five o'clock afternoon we weighed anchor, and put to sea. In the name of God, being well victualled and furnished with munition and all necessaries: our whole company being but twenty-nine persons; of whom I may boldly say, few voyages have been manned forth with better seamen generally in respect of our small number.

Monday, the next day, being the first of April, by six o'clock in the morning, we were six leagues south-south-east from the Lizard.

At two in the afternoon this day, the weather being very fair, our captain for his own experience and others with him sounded, and had six-and-fifty fathoms and a half. The sounding was some small black perrie sand, some reddish sand, a match or two, with small shells called Saint James's shells.

The fourteenth of April, being Sunday, between nine and ten of the clock in the morning, our captain descried the island Cuerno: which bare south-west-and-by-west, about

seven leagues from us : by eleven of the clock we descried Flores to the southward of Cuerno, as it lieth : by four o'clock in the afternoon, we brought Cuerno due south from us within two leagues of the shore, but we touched not because the wind was fair, and we thought ourselves sufficiently watered and wooded.

Here our captain observed the sun, and found himself in the latitude forty degrees and seven minutes : so he judged the north part of Cuerno to be in forty degrees.

After we had kept our course about a hundred leagues from the islands, by continual southerly winds we were forced and driven from the southward, whither we first intended. And when our captain by long beating saw it was but in vain to strive with winds, not knowing God's purposes herein to our further blessing, (which after by his especial direction we found,) he thought best to stand as nigh as he could by the wind, to recover what land we might first discover.

Monday, the 6th of May, being in the latitude of thirty-nine and a half, about ten o'clock afore noon, we came to a rippling, which we discerned ahead our ship, which is a breach of water caused either by a fall, or by some meeting of currents, which we judged this to be ; for the weather being very fair, and a small gale of wind, we sounded and found no ground in a hundred fathoms.

Monday, the 13th of May, about eleven o'clock afore noon, our captain, judging we were not far from land, sounded, and had a soft oaze in a hundred and sixty fathoms. At four o'clock afternoon, we sounded again, and had the same oaze in a hundred fathoms.

From ten o'clock that night till three o'clock in the morning, our captain took in all sails and lay at hull, being desirous to fall with the land in the day time, because it was an unknown coast, which it pleased God in his mercy to grant us, otherwise we had run our ship upon the hidden rocks and perished all. For when we set sail we sounded in one hundred fathoms : and by eight o'clock, having not made above five or six leagues, our captain, upon a sudden change of water, (supposing verily he saw the sand) presently sounded, and had but five fathoms. Much marvelling because we saw no land, he sent one to the top, who thence

descried a whitish sandy cliff, which bare west-north-west, about six leagues off from us: but coming nearer within three or four leagues, we saw many breaches still nearer the land; at last we espied a great breach ahead us all along the shore, into which, before we should enter, our captain thought best to hoist out his ship's boat and sound it, which if he had not done, we had been in great danger; for he bare up the ship, as near as he durst after the boat: until Thomas Cam, his mate, being in the boat, called to him to tack about and stand off, for in this breach he had very shoal water, two fathoms and less upon rocks, and sometime they supposed they saw the rock within three or four feet, whereon the sea made a very strong breach: which we might discern (from the top) to run along as we sailed by it six or seven leagues to the southward. This was in the latitude of forty-one degrees twenty minutes: wherefore we were constrained to put back again from the land: and sounding, (the weather being very fair and a small wind) we found ourselves embayed with continual shoals and rocks in a most uncertain ground, from five or six fathoms, at the next cast of the lead we should have fifteen and eighteen fathoms; over many which we passed, and God so blessed us, that we had wind and weather as fair as poor men in this distress could wish: whereby we both perfectly discerned every breach, and with the wind were able to turn, where we saw most hope of safest passage. Thus we parted from the land, which we had not so much before desired, and at the first sight rejoiced, as now we all joyfully praised God, that it had pleased Him to deliver us from so imminent danger.

Here we found great store of excellent codfish, and saw many whales, as we had done two or three days before.

We stood off all that night, and the next day being Wednesday, but the wind still continuing between the points of south-south-west and west-south-west: so as we could not make any way to the southward, in regard of our great want of water and wood (which was now spent,) we much desired land, and therefore sought for it, where the wind would best suffer us to refresh ourselves.

Thursday, the 16th of May, we stood in directly with the land, and much marvelled we descried it not, wherein we found our sea charts very false, putting land where none is.

Friday, the 17th of May, about six o'clock at night, we descried the land, which bare from us north-north-east: but because it blew a great gale of wind, the sea very high, and near night, not fit to come upon an unknown coast, we stood off till two o'clock in the morning, being Saturday: then standing in with it again, we descried it by eight o'clock in the morning, bearing north-east from us. It appeared a mean high land, as we after found it, being an island of some six miles in compass, but I hope the most fortunate ever yet discovered. About twelve o'clock that day, we came to an anchor on the north side of this island, about a league from the shore. About two o'clock our captain with twelve men rowed in his ship boat to the shore, where we made no long stay, but laded our boat with dry wood of old trees upon the shore side, and returned to our ship where we rode that night.

This island is woody grown with fir, birch, oak and beech, as far as we saw along the shore; and so likely to be within. On the verge grow gooseberries, strawberries, wild pease, and wild rose bushes. The water issued forth down the rocky cliffs in many places: and much fowl of divers kinds breed upon the shore and rocks.

While we were at shore, our men aboard, with a few hooks got above thirty great cods and haddocks, which gave us a taste of the great plenty of fish, which we found afterward wheresoever we went upon the coast. From hence we might discern the main land from the west-south-west to the east-north-east, and a great way (as it then seemed, and we after found it,) up into the main we might discern very high mountains, though the main seemed but low land; which gave us a hope it would please God to direct us to the discovery of some good; although we were driven by winds far from that place, whither (both by our direction and desire) we ever intended to shape the course of our voyage.

The next day, being Whitsunday; because we rode too much open to the sea and winds, we weighed anchor about twelve o'clock, and came along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the road directly with the mountains, about three leagues from the first island where we had anchored.

When we came near unto them (sounding all along in a good depth) our captain manned his ship boat, and sent her before with Thomas Cam, one of his mates, whom he knew to be of good experience, to sound and search between the islands for a place safe for our ship to ride in ; in the meanwhile we kept aloof at sea, having given them in the boat, a token to weffe in the ship, if he found a convenient harbor ; which it pleased God to send us, far beyond our expectation, in a most safe berth defended from all winds, in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen, in six, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathoms, upon a clay ooze, very tough.

We all with great joy praised God for his unspeakable goodness, who had from so apparent danger delivered us, and directed us upon this day into so secure an harbor ; in remembrance whereof we named it Pentecost Harbor ; we arrived there that day out of our last harbor in England, from whence we set sail upon Easter day.

About four o'clock, after we were anchored and well moored, our captain with half a dozen of our company went on shore to seek fresh watering, and a convenient place to set together a pinnace, which we brought in pieces, out of England : both which we found very fitting.

Upon this island, as also upon the former, we found (at our first coming to shore,) where fire had been made : and about the place were very great egg shells bigger than goose eggs, fish bones, and as we judged, the bones of some beast.

Here we espied cranes stalking on the shore of a little island adjoining, where we after saw they used to breed.

Whitsunmonday, the 20th day of May, very early in the morning, our captain caused the pieces of the pinnace to be carried ashore, where while some were busied about her, others digged wells to receive the fresh water, which we found issuing down out of the land in many places. Here I cannot omit (for foolish fear of imputation of flattery,) the painful industry of our captain, who as at sea he is always most careful and vigilant, so at land he refuseth no pains ; but his labor was ever as much or rather more than any man's : which not only encourageth others with better content, but also effecteth much with great expedition.

In digging we found excellent clay for brick or tile. The next day we finished a well of good and wholesome clear water in a great empty cask, which we left there. We cut yards, waste trees, and many necessaries for our ship, while our carpenter and cooper labored to fit and furnish forth the shallop.

This day our boat went out about a mile from our ship, and in small time with two or three hooks was fished sufficiently for our whole company three days, with great cod, haddock, and thornback.

And towards night we drew with a small net of twenty fathoms very nigh the shore : we got about thirty very good and great lobsters, many rockfish, some plaice and other small fishes, and fishes called lumps, very pleasant to the taste ; and we generally observed, that all the fish, of what kind soever we took, were well fed, fat, and sweet in taste.

Wednesday, the 22d of May, we felled and cut wood for our ship's use, cleansed and scoured our wells and digged a plot of ground, wherein, amongst some garden seeds, we sowed pease and barley, which in sixteen days grew eight inches above ground ; and so continued growing every day half an inch, although this was but the crust of the ground, and much inferior to the mould we after found in the main.

Friday, the 24th of May, after we had made an end of cutting wood, and carrying water aboard our ship, with fourteen shot and pikes we marched about and through part of two islands ; the bigger of which we judged to be four or five miles in compass, and a mile broad.

The profits and fruits which are naturally on these islands are these :

All along the shore, and some space within, where the wood hindereth not, grow plentifully, raspberries, gooseberries, strawberries, roses, currants, wild vines, angelica.

Within the islands grow wood of sundry sorts, some very great, and all tall, as birch, beech, ash, maple, spruce, cherry tree, yew, oak, very great and good, fir tree, out of which issueth turpentine in so marvellous plenty, and so sweet, as our chirurgeon and others affirmed they never saw so good in England. We pulled off much gum, congealed on the outside of the bark, which smelled like frankincense. This would be a great benefit for making tar and pitch.

We staid the longer in this place, not only because of our good harbor (which is an excellent comfort,) but because every day we did more and more discover the pleasant fruitfulness; insomuch as many of our company wished themselves settled here, not expecting any further hopes, or better discovery to be made.

Here our men found abundance of great muscles among the rocks; and in some of them many small pearls: and in one muscle (which we drew up in our net) was found fourteen pearls, whereof one of pretty bigness and orient; in another above fifty small pearls: and if we had had a drag, no doubt we had found some of great value, seeing these did certainly shew, that here they were bred; the shells all glittering with mother of pearl.

Wednesday, the 29th day, our shallop being now finished, and our captain and men furnished to depart with her from the ship, we set up a cross on the shore-side upon the rocks.

Thursday, the 30th of May, about ten o'clock before noon, our captain with thirteen men more in the name of God, and with all our prayers for their prosperous discovery, and safe return, departed in the shallop: leaving the ship in a good harbor; which before I mentioned, well moored, and manned with fourteen men.

This day, about five o'clock in the afternoon, we in the ship espied three canoes coming towards us, which went to the island adjoining, where they went ashore, and very quickly had made a fire, about which they stood beholding our ship: to whom we made signs with our hands and hats, weffing unto them to come unto us, because we had not seen any of the people yet. They sent one canoe with three men, one of which, when they came near unto us, spake in his language very loud and very boldly: seeming as though he would know why we were there, and by pointing with his oar towards the sea, we conjectured he meant we should be gone. But when we shewed them knives and their use, by cutting of sticks; and other trifles, as combs and glasses, they came close aboard our ship, as desirous to entertain our friendship. To these we gave such things as we perceived they liked, when we shewed them the use: bracelets, rings, peacock-feathers, which they stuck

in their hair, and tobacco pipes. After their *départure* to their company on the shore, presently came four others in another canoe: to whom we gave as to the former, using them with as much kindness as we could.

The shape of their body is very proportionable, they are well countenanced, not very tall nor big, but in stature like to us: they paint their bodies with black, their faces, some with red, some with black, and some with blue.

Their clothing is beaver skins, or deer skins, cast over them like a mantle, and hanging down to their knees, made fast together upon the shoulder with leather: some of them had sleeves, most had none: some had buskins of such leather sewed: they have besides a piece of beaver skin between their legs, made fast about their waist, to cover their privities.

They suffer no hair to grow on their faces, but on their head very long and very black, which those that have wives, bind up behind with a leather string, in a long round knot.

They seemed all very civil and merry: shewing tokens of much thankfulness, for those things we gave them. We found them then (as after) a people of exceeding good invention, quick understanding and ready capacity.

Their canoes are made without any iron, of the bark of a birch tree, strengthened within with ribs and hoops of wood, in so good fashion, with such excellent ingenious art, as they are able to bear seven or eight persons, far exceeding any in the Indies.

One of their canoes came not to us, wherein we imagined their women were: of whom they are (as all savages) very jealous.

When I signed unto them they should go sleep, because it was night, they understood presently, and pointed that at the shore, right against our ship, they would stay all night: as they did.

The next morning very early, came one canoe aboard us again with three savages, whom we easily then enticed into our ship, and under the deck; where we gave them pork, fish, bread and pease, all which they did eat: and this I noted, they would eat nothing raw, either fish or flesh. They marvelled much and much looked upon the making of

our can and kettle, so they did at a head-piece and at our guns, of which they are most fearful, and would fall flat down at the report of them. At their departure, I signed unto them, that if they would bring me such skins as they wear, I would give them knives, and such things as I saw they most liked, which the chief of them promised to do, by that time the sun should be beyond the midst of the firmament; this I did to bring them to an understanding of exchange, and that they might conceive the intent of our coming to them to be for no other end.

About ten o'clock this day we descried our shallop returning toward us, which, so soon as we espied, we certainly conjectured our captain had found some unexpected harbor, further up towards the main to bring the ship into, or some river; knowing his determination and resolution, not so suddenly else to make return: which when they came nearer they expressed by shooting volleys of shot; and when they were come within musket shot, they gave us a volley and hailed us, then we in the ship gave them a great piece and hailed them.

Thus we welcomed them, who gladded us exceedingly with their joyful relation of their happy discovery, which shall appear in the sequel. And we likewise gave them cause of mutual joy with us, in discoursing of the kind civility we found in a people, where we little expected any spark of humanity.

Our captain had in this small time discovered up a great river, trending alongst into the main about forty miles. The pleasantness whereof, with the safety of harbor for shipping, together with the fertility of ground and other fruits, which were generally by his whole company related, I omit till I report of the whole discovery thereafter performed. For by the breadth, depth, and strong flood, imagining it to run far up into the land, he with speed returned, intending to flank his light-horsemen for arrows, least it might happen that the further part of the river should be narrow, and by that means subject to the volley of savages on either side out of the woods.

Until his return, our captain left on shore where he landed in a path (which seemed to be frequented) a pipe, a brooch and a knife, thereby to know if the savages had recourse

that way, because they could at that time see none of them, but they were taken away before our return thither.

I return now to our savages, who according to their appointment about one o'clock, came with four canoes to the shore of the island right over against us, where they had lodged the last night, and sent one canoe to us with two of those savages, who had been aboard, and another who then seemed to have command of them ; for though we perceived their willingness, yet he would not permit them to come aboard : but he having viewed us and our ship, signed that he would go to the rest of the company and return again. Presently after their departure it began to rain, and continued all that afternoon, so as they could not come to us with their skins and furs, nor we go to them. But after an hour or thereabout, the three which had been with us before came again, whom we had to our fire and covered them with our gowns. Our captain bestowed a shirt upon him, whom we thought to be their chief, who seemed never to have seen any before ; we gave him a brooch to hang about his neck, a great knife, and lesser knives to the two other, and to every one of them a comb and glass, the use whereof we shewed them : whereat they laughed and took gladly ; we victualled them, and gave them aqua vitæ, which they tasted but would by no means drink ; our beverage they liked well, we gave them sugar candy, which after they had tasted they liked and desired more, and raisins which were given them ; and some of everything they would reserve to carry to their company. Wherefore we pitying their being in the rain, and therefore not able to get themselves victual (as we thought) we gave them bread and fish.

Thus because we found the land a place answerable to the intent of our discovery, namely, fit for any nation to inhabit, we used the people with as great kindness as we could devise, or found them capable of.

The next day being Saturday and the first of June, I traded with the savages all the forenoon upon the shore, where were eight-and-twenty of them ; and because our ship rode nigh, we were but five or six ; where for knives, glasses, combs, and other trifles to the value of four or five shillings, we had forty good beavers' skins, otters' skins, sables, and other small skins, which we knew not how to

call. Our trade being ended, many of them came aboard us, and did eat by our fire, and would be very merry and bold, in regard of our kind usage of them. Towards night our captain went on shore, to have a draught with the seine or net. And we carried two of them with us, who marvelled to see us catch fish with a net. Most of that we caught we gave them and their company. Then on the shore I learned the names of divers things of them; and when they perceived me to note them down, they would of themselves fetch fishes, and fruit bushes, and stand by me to see me write their names.

Our captain shewed them a strange thing, which they wondered at. His sword and mine having been touched with the loadstone, took up a knife, and held it fast, when they plucked it away, made the knife turn, being laid on a block, and touching it with his sword, made that take up a needle, whereat they much marvelled. This we did to cause them to imagine some great power in us; and for that to love and fear us.

When we went on shore to trade with them, in one of their canoes I saw their bows and arrows, which I took up and drew an arrow in one of them, which I found to be of strength able to carry an arrow five or six score strongly; and one of them took it and drew as we draw our bows, not like the Indians. Their bow is made of witch-hazle, and some of beach in fashion much like our bows, but they want nocks, only a string of leather put through a hole at one end, and made fast with wood, some of ash, big and long, with three feathers tied on, and nocked very artificially; headed with the long shank bone of a deer, made very sharp with two fangs in the manner of a harping iron. They had likewise darts headed with like bone, one of which I darted among the rocks, and it brake not. These they use very cunningly, to kill fish, fowl and beasts.

Our captain had two of them at supper with us in his cabin to see their demeanor, and had them in presence at service: who behaved themselves very civilly, neither laughing nor talking all the time, and at supper fed not like men of rude education, neither would they eat or drink more than seemed to content nature; they desired pease to carry ashore to their women, which we gave them, with fish and bread, and lent them pewter dishes, which they carefully brought again.

In the evening another boat came to them on the shore, and because they had some tobacco, which they brought for their own use, the other came for us, making sign what they had, and offered to carry some of us in their boat, but four or five of us went with them in our own boat; when we came on shore they gave us the best welcome they could, spreading fallow deer's skins for us to sit on the ground by their fire, and gave us of their tobacco in our pipes, which was excellent, and so generally commended of us all, to be as good as any we ever took, being the simple leaf without any composition, strong and of sweet taste; they gave us some to carry to our captain whom they called our bashabes: neither did they require anything for it, but we would not receive any thing from them without remuneration.

Here we saw four of their women, who stood behind them as desirous to see us, but not willing to be seen; for before whensoever we came on shore, they retired into the woods, whether it were in regard of their own natural modesty, being covered only as the men with the foresaid beaver's skins, or by the commanding jealousy of their husbands, which we rather suspected, because it is an inclination much noted to be in savages; wherefore we would by no means seem to take any special notice of them. They were very well favored in proportion of countenance, though colored black, low of stature, and fat, bare-headed as the men, wearing their hair long; they had two little male children of a year and a half old as we judged, very fat and of good countenances, which they love tenderly, all naked except their legs, which were covered with their leather buskins tewed, fastened with strops to a girdle about their waist, which they gird very straight, and is decked round about with little round pieces of red copper: to these I gave chains and bracelets, glasses, and other trifles, which the savages, seemed to accept in great kindness.

At our coming away, we would have had those two that supped with us, to go aboard and sleep, as they had promised: but it appeared their company would not suffer them. Whereat we might easily perceive they were much grieved; but not long after our departure, they came with three more to our ship, signing to us, that if one of our company would go lie on shore with them, they would stay with us. Then

Owen Griffin (one of the two we were to leave in the country, if we had thought it needful or convenient) went with them in their canoe, and three of them stayed aboard us, whom our whole company very kindly used. Our captain saw their lodging provided, and them lodged in an old sail upon the orlop; and because they much feared our dogs, they were tied up whensoever any of them came aboard us.

Owen Griffin, which lay on the shore, reported unto me their manner, and as I may term them the ceremonies of their idolatry, which they perform thus. One among them (the eldest of the company as he judged) riseth right up, the other sitting still, and looking about suddenly cried with a loud voice, *baugh, waugh*: then the women fall down, and lie upon the ground; and the men altogether answering the same, fall a stamping round about the fire with both feet, as hard as they can, making the ground shake, with sundry outcries, and change of voice and sound. Many take the fire sticks and thrust them into the earth, and then rest awhile; of a sudden beginning as before, they continue so stamping, till the younger sort fetched from the shore many stones of which every man took one, and first beat upon them with their fire sticks, then with the stones beat the earth with all their strength, and in this manner (as he reported) they continued above two hours.

After this ended, they which have wives take them apart and withdraw themselves severally into the wood all night.

The next morning as soon as they saw the sun rise, they pointed to him to come with them to our ship: and having received their men from us, they came with five or six of their canoes and company hovering about our ship: to whom (because it was the Sabbath day) I signed they should depart, and at the next sun-rising we would go along with them to their houses: which they understood (as we thought) and departed, some of their canoes coursing about the island, and the other directly towards the main.

This day about five o'clock after noon, came three other canoes from the main, of which some had been with us before: and they came aboard us, and brought us tobacco, which we took with them in their pipes, which were made of earth, very strong, black, and short, containing a great quantity; some tobacco they gave unto our captain, and

some to me, in very civil kind manner; we requited them with bread and pease, which they carried to their company on shore, seeming very thankful; after supper they returned with their canoe to fetch us ashore to take tobacco with them there, with whom six or seven of us went, and carried some trifles, if peradventure they had any truck, among which I carried some few biscuits, to try if they would exchange for them, seeing they so well liked to eat them. When we came at shore they most kindly entertained us, taking us by the hands, as they had observed we did to them aboard in token of welcome, and brought us to sit down by their fire, where sat together thirteen of them. They filled their tobacco pipe, which was then the short claw of a lobster, which will hold ten of our pipes full, and we drank of their excellent tobacco as much as we would with them; but we saw not any great quantity to truck for; and it seemed they had not much left of old, for they spend a great quantity yearly by their continual drinking: and they would sign unto us, that it was grown yet but a foot above ground, and would be above a yard high, with a leaf as broad as both their hands. They often would (by pointing to one part of the main eastward) sign unto us, that their Bashabes (that is their king) had great plenty of furs, and much tobacco. When we had sufficiently taken tobacco with them, I shewed some of our trifles to trade, but they made sign that they had there nothing to exchange; for (as I after conceived) they had been fishing and fowling, and so came thither to lodge that night by us; for when we were ready to come away, they shewed us great cups made very wittily of bark, in form almost square, full of a red berry about the bigness of a bullis, which they did eat, and gave us by handfulls; of which (though I liked not the taste) yet I kept some, because I would by no means but accept their kindness. They shewed me likewise a great piece of fish, whereof I tasted, and it was fat like porpoise: and another kind of great scaly fish, broiled on the coals, much like white salmon, which the Frenchmen call aloza,* for these they would have had bread; which I refused, because in manner of exchange, I would always make the greatest

* [L'Alose is the shad.]

esteem I could of our commodities whatsoever ; although they saw aboard our captain was liberal to give them, to the end we might allure them still to frequent us. Then they shewed me four young goslings, for which they required four biscuits, but I offered them two ; which they took and were well content.

At our departure they made sign, that if any of us would stay there on shore some of them would go lie aboard us ; at which motion two of our company stayed with them, and three of the savages lodged with us in manner as the night before.

Early the next morning, being Monday, the third of June, when they had brought our men aboard, they came about our ship, earnestly by signs desiring that we would go with them along to the main, for that there they had furs and tobacco to traffick with us. Wherefore our captain manned the light-horseman with as many men as he could well, which were about fifteen with rowers and all : and we went along with them. Two of their canoes they sent away before, and they which lay aboard us all night, kept company with us to direct us.

This we noted as we went along, they in their canoe with three oars, would at their will go ahead of us and about us, when we rowed with eight oars strong ; such was their swiftness, by reason of the lightness and artificial composition of their canoe and oars.

When we came near the point where we saw their fires, where they intended to land, and where they imagined some few of us would come on shore with our merchandise, as we had accustomed before, when they had often numbered our men very diligently, they scoured away to their company, not doubting we would have followed them. But when we perceived this, and knew not either their intents or number of savages on the shore, our captain, after consultation, stood off, and wafted them to us, determining that I should go on shore first to take a view of them, and what they had to traffic ; if he, whom at our first sight of them seemed to be of most respect among them, and being then in the canoe, would stay as a pawn for me. When they came to us (notwithstanding all our former courtesies) he utterly refused, but would leave a young savage, and for him our captain

sent Griffen in their canoe, while we lay hulling a little off. Griffen, at his return, reported that they had there assembled together, as he numbered them, two hundred eighty-three savages, every one his bow and arrows, with their dogs and wolves, which they keep tame, at command, and not anything to exchange at all; but would have drawn us further up into a little narrow nook of a river, for their furs, as they pretended.

These things considered, we began to join them in the rank of other savages, who have been by travellers in most discoveries found very treacherous, never attempting mischief until, by some remissness, fit opportunity afforded them certain ability to execute the same. Wherefore, after good advice taken, we determined, so soon as we could, to take some of them, least (being suspicious we had discovered their plots) they should absent themselves from us.

Tuesday, the fourth of June, our men took cod and had-dock with hooks by our ship side, and lobsters very great, which before we had not tried.

About eight o'clock, this day, we went on shore with our boats, to fetch aboard water and wood, our captain leaving word with the gunner in the ship, by discharging a musket, to give notice if they espied any canoe coming, which they did about ten o'clock. He therefore, being careful they should be kindly treated, requested me to go aboard, intending with dispatch to make what haste after he possibly could. When I came to the ship there were two canoes, and in either of them three savages, of whom two were below at the fire; the others staid in their canoes about the ship, and because we could not entice them aboard we gave them a can of pease and bread, which they carried to the shore to eat; but one of them brought back our can presently, and staid aboard with the other two; for he being young, of a ready capacity, and one we most desired to bring with us into England, had received exceeding kind usage at our hands, and was therefore much delighted in our company. When our captain was come, we consulted how to catch the other three at shore, which we performed thus.

We manned the light horseman with seven or eight men, one standing before carried our box of merchandise, as we

were wont when I went to traffic with them, and a platter of pease, which meat they loved ; but before we were landed, one of them (being so suspiciously fearful of his own good) withdrew himself into the wood. The other two met us on the shore side, to receive the pease, with whom we went up the cliff to their fire and sat down with them, and while we were discussing how to catch the third man who was gone, I opened the box, and shewed them trifles to exchange, thinking thereby to have banished fear from the other, and drawn him to return : but when we could not, we used little delay, but suddenly laid hands upon them, and it was as much as five or six of us could do to get them into the light horseman, for they were strong and so naked as our best hold was by their long hair on their heads ; and we would have been very loath to have done them any hurt, which of necessity we had been constrained to have done if we had attempted them in a multitude, which we must and would, rather than have wanted them, being a matter of great importance for the full accomplishment of our voyage.

Thus we shipped five savages, two canoes, with all their bows and arrows.

The next day we made an end of getting our wood aboard, and filled our empty cask with water.

Thursday the sixth of June, we spent in bestowing the canoes upon the orlop safe from hurt, because they were subject to breaking, which our captain was careful to prevent.

Saturday the eighth of June, our captain (being desirous to finish all business about this harbor) very early in the morning, with the light horseman, coasted five or six leagues about the islands adjoining, and sounded all along wheresoever we went, he likewise diligently searched the mouth of the harbor, and about the rocks which shew themselves at all times, and are an excellent breach of the water, so as no sea can come in to offend the harbor. This he did to instruct himself and thereby able to direct others that shall happen to come to this place. For everywhere both near the rocks, and in all soundings about the islands we never found less water than four or five fathoms which was seldom, but seven, eight, nine, and ten fathoms is the continual sounding by the shore. In some places much deeper upon clay ooze

or soft sand : so that if any bound for this place should be either driven or scanted with winds, he shall be able (with his directions) to recover safely his harbor most securely in water enough by four several passages, more than which I think no man of judgment will desire as necessary.

Upon one of the islands (because it had a pleasant sandy cove for small barks to ride in) we landed and found hard by the shore a pond of fresh water, which flowed over the banks, somewhat overgrown with little shrub trees, and searching up in the island, we saw it fed with a strong run, which with small labor, and little time, might be made to drive a mill. In this island, as in the other, were spruce trees of excellent timber and height, able to mast ships of great burthen.

While we thus sounded from one place to another in so good depths, our captain, to make some trial of the fishing himself, caused a hook or two to be cast out at the mouth of the harbor, not above half a league from our ship, where in small time only, with the baits which they cut from the fish and three hooks, we got fish enough for our whole company (though now augmented) for three days which I omit not to report, because it sheweth how great a profit the fishing would be, they being so plentiful, so great, and so good, with such convenient drying as can be wished, near at hand upon the rocks.

This day, about one o'clock afternoon, came from the eastward two canoes aboard us, wherein was he that refused to stay with us for a pawn, and with him six other savages which we had not seen before, who had beautified themselves after their manner very gallantly though their clothing was not differing from the former, yet they had newly painted their faces very deep, some all black, some red, with stripes of excellent blue over their upper lips, nose and chin. One of them wore a kind of coronet about his head, made very cunningly, of a substance like stiff hair colored red, broad, and more than a handful in depth, which we imagined to be some insigne of his superiority : for he so much esteemed it as he would not for anything exchange the same. Others wore the white feathered skins of some fowl, round about their head, jewels in their ears, and bracelets of little white round bone, fastened together upon a

leather string. These made not any show that they had notice of the other before taken, but we understood them by their speech and signs, that they came sent from the bashabes and that his desire was that we would bring up our ship (which they call as their own boats, a quiden) to his house being as they pointed, upon the main towards the east, from whence they came, and that he would exchange with us for furs and tobacco. But because our company was but small, and now our desire was with speed to discover up the river, we let them understand, that if their bashabes would come to us he should be welcome, but we would not remove to him. Which when they understood (received of us bread and fish and every of them a knife) they departed for we had then no will to stay them long aboard, least they should discover the other savages which we had stowed below.

Tuesday, the eleventh of June, we passed up into the river with our ship, about six and twenty miles, of which I had rather not write, than by my relation to detract from the worthiness thereof. For the river, besides that it is subject by shipping to bring in all traffics of merchandise, a benefit always accounted the richest treasury to any land; for which cause our Thames hath that due denomination, and France by her navigable rivers receiveth her greatest wealth; yet this place of itself from God and nature affordeth as much diversity of good commodities, as any reasonable man can wish for present habitation and planting.

The first and chiefest thing required, is a bold coast and fair land to fall with; the next, a safe harbor for ships to ride in.

The first is a special attribute to this shore, being most free from sands or dangerous rocks in a continual good depth, with a most excellent land fall, which is the first land we fell with, named by us, Saint George's Island.

For the second, by judgment of our captain, who knoweth most of the coast of England, and most of other countries, (having been experienced by employments in discoveries and travels from his childhood) and by opinion of others of good judgment in our ship, here are more good harbors for ships of all burthens, than England can afford, and far more secure from all winds and weathers, than any

in England, Scotland, France or Spain. For (besides without the river in the channel, and sounds about the islands adjoining to the mouth thereof, no better riding can be desired for an infinite number of ships) the river itself as it runneth up into the main very nigh forty miles toward the great mountains, beareth in breadth a mile, sometime three quarters, and half a mile is the narrowest, where you shall never have under four and five fathoms water, hard by the shore, but six, seven, eight, nine and ten fathoms all along, and on both sides every half mile very gallant coves, some able to contain almost a hundred sail, where the ground is excellent soft ooze with a tough clay under for anchor hold, and where ships may lie without either cable or anchor, only moored to the shore with a hauser.

It floweth by their judgment eighteen or twenty feet at high water.

Here are made by nature most excellent places, as docks to grave or careen ships of all burthens; secured from all winds, which is such a necessary incomparable benefit, that in few places in England or in any parts of Christendom, art, with great charges, can make the like.

Besides the bordering land is a most rich neighbor trending all along on both sides, in an equal plain neither mountainous nor rocky but verged with a green border of grass, doth make tender unto the beholder of her pleasant fertility, if by cleansing away the woods she were converted into meadow.

The wood she beareth, is not shrubbish, fit only for fuel, but goodly tall fir, spruce, birch, beech, oak, which in many places is not so thick, but may with small labor be made feeding ground, being plentiful like the outward islands with fresh water, which streameth down in many places.

As we passed with a gentle wind up with our ship in this river, any man may conceive with what admiration we all consented in joy. Many of our company who had been travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous rivers yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld. Some that were with Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage to Guiana, in the discovery of the river Orenoque, which echoed fame to the world's ears, gave reasons why it was not to be compared with this, which wanteth the

dangers of many shoals, and broken ground, wherewith that was incumbered. Others before that notable river in the West Indies called Rio Grande; some before the river of Loire, the river Seine, and of Bourdeaux in France; which although they be great and goodly rivers, yet it is no detracti-
on from them to be accounted inferior to this, which not only yieldeth all the foresaid pleasant profits, but also appeared infallibly to us free from all inconveniences.

I will not prefer it before our river of Thames, because it is England's richest treasure: but we all did wish those excellent harbors, good deeps in a continual convenient breadth, and small tide gates, to be as well therein for our country's good, as we found them here (beyond our hopes) in certain, for those to whom it shall please God to grant this land for habitation: which if it had, with the other inseparable adherent commodities here to be found; then I would boldly affirm it to be the most rich, beautiful, large and secure harboring river that the world affordeth.

Wednesday the twelfth of June, our captain manned his light horseman with seventeen men, and ran up from the ship riding in the river up to the codde thereof, where we landed, leaving six to keep the light horseman till our return. Ten of us with our shot, and some armed, with a boy to carry powder and match, marched up into the country towards the mountains, which we descried at our first falling with the land. Unto some of them the river brought us so near, as we judged ourselves when we landed to have been within a league of them; but we marched up about four miles in the main and passed over three hills: and because the weather was parching hot, and our men in their armour not able to travel far and return that night to our ship, we resolved not to pass any further, being all very weary of so tedious and laborious a travel.

In this march we passed over very good ground, pleasant and fertile, fit for pasture, for the space of some three miles, having but little wood, and that oak, like stands left in our pastures in England, good and great, fit timber for any use, some small birch, hazle and brake, which might in small time with few men be cleansed and made good arable land: but as it now is will feed cattle of all kinds with fodder enough for summer and winter. The soil is black, bearing

sundry herbs, grass, and strawberries bigger than ours in England. In many places are low thickets like our copses of small young wood. And surely it did all resemble a stately park, wherein appear some old trees with high withered tops and other flourishing with living green boughs. Upon the hills grow notable high timber trees, masts for ships of four hundred ton; and at the bottom of every hill, a little run of fresh water: but the farthest and last we passed ran with a great stream able to drive a mill.

We might see in some places where fallow deer and hares had been, and by the rooting of ground we supposed wild hogs had ranged there, but we could descry no beast, because our noise still chased them from us.

We were no sooner come aboard our light horseman, returning towards our ship, but we espied a canoe coming from the further part of the cod of the river eastward, which hasted to us wherein with two others, was he who refused to stay for a pawn; and his coming was very earnestly importing to have one of our men to go lie on shore with their bashabes (who was there on shore as they signed) and then the next morning he would come to our ship with many firs and tobacco. This we perceived to be only a mere device to get possession of any of our men, to ransom all those which we had taken, which our natural policy could not so shadow, but we did easily discover and prevent. These means were by this savage practised, because we had one of his kinsmen prisoner, as we judged by his most kind usage of him being aboard us together.

Thursday the thirteenth of June, by two o'clock in the morning (because our captain would take the help and advantage of the tide) in the light horseman with our company well provided and furnished with armor and shot both to defend and offend; we went from our ship up to that part of the river which trended westward into the main, to search that: and we carried with us a cross, to erect at that point, which (because it was not daylight) we left on the shore until our return back when we set it up in manner as the former. For this (by the way) we diligently observed, that in no place, either about the islands, or up in the main, or alongst the river, we could discern any token or sign, that ever any christian had been before: of which either by

cutting wood, digging for water, or setting up crosses (a thing never omitted by any christian travellers) we should have perceived some mention left.

But to return to our river further up into which we then rowed by estimation twenty miles, the beauty and goodness whereof I cannot by relation sufficiently demonstrate. That which I can say in general is this: what profit or pleasure soever is described and truly verified in the former part of the river, is wholly doubled in this; for the breadth and depth is such, that any ship drawing seventeen or eighteen feet water, might have passed as far as we went with our light horseman and by all our men's judgment much further, because we left it in so good depth and breadth; which is so much the more to be esteemed of greater worth, by how much it trendeth further up into the main; for from the place of our ships riding in the harbor at the entrance into the sound, to the furthest part we were in this river, by our estimation was not much less than threescore miles.

From each bank of this river are divers branching streams into the main, whereby is afforded an unspeakable profit by the conveniency of transportation from place to place which in some countries is both chargeable, and not to be fit, by carriages or wain, or horseback.

Here we saw great store of fish, some great leaping above water, which we judged to be salmons. All along is an excellent mould of ground. The wood in most places, especially on the east side very thin, chiefly oak and some small young birch, bordering low upon the river; all fit for meadow and pasture ground; and in that space we went, we had on both sides the river many plain plots of meadow, some of three or four acres, some of eight or nine: so as we judged in the whole to be between thirty and forty acres of good grass, and where the arms run out into the main, there likewise went a space on both sides of clear grass, how far we know not; in many places we might see paths made to come down to the watering.

The excellency of this part of the river, for his good breadth, depth, and fertile bordering ground, did so ravish us all with variety of pleasantness, as we could not tell what to commend, but only admired; some compared it to the

river Severn, (but in a higher degree) and we all concluded as I verily think we might right) that we should never see the like river in every degree equal, until it pleased God we beheld the same again. For the farther we went, the more pleasing it was to every man, alluring us still with expectation of better, so as our men, although they had with great labor rowed long and eat nothing (for we carried with us no victual, but a little cheese and bread) yet they were so refreshed with the pleasant beholding thereof, and so loath to forsake it, as some of them affirmed, they would have continued willingly with that only fare and labor two days; but the tide not suffering us to make any longer stay (because we were to come back with the tide) and our captain better knowing what was fit than we, and better what they in labor were able to endure, being very loath to make any desperate hazard, where so little necessity required, thought it best to make return, because whither we had discovered was sufficient to conceive that the river ran very far into the land, for we passed six or seven miles, altogether fresh water (whereof we all drank) forced up by the flowing of the salt: which after a great while ebb where we left it, by breadth of channel and depth of water was likely to run by estimation of our whole company an unknown way farther: the search whereof our captain hath left till his return, if it shall so please God to dispose of him and us.

For we having now by the direction of the Omnipotent Disposer of all good intents (far beyond the period of our hopes) fallen with so bold a coast, found so excellent and secure harbor, for as many ships as any nation professing Christ is able to set forth to sea, discovered a river, which the all-creating God, with his most liberal hand, hath made above report notable with his foresaid blessings, bordered with a land, whose pleasant fertility bewrayeth itself to be the garden of nature, wherein she only intended to delight herself, having hitherto obscured it to any, except to a purblind generation, whose understanding it hath pleased God to darken, as they can neither discern, use, or rightly esteem the unvaluable riches in midst whereof they live sensually content with the bark and outward rinds, as neither knowing the sweetness of the inward marrow, nor acknowledging the

Deity of the Almighty giver : having I say thus far proceeded, and having some of the inhabitant nation (of best understanding we saw among them) who (learning our language) may be able to give us further instruction, concerning all the premised particulars, as also of their governors, and government, situation of towns, and what else shall be convenient, which by no means otherwise we could by any observation of ourselves learn in a long time ; our captain now wholly intended his provision for speedy return. For although the time of year and our victual were not so spent, but we could have made a longer voyage, in searching farther and trading for very good commodities, yet as they might have been much profitable so (our company being small) much more prejudicial to the whole state of our voyage, which we were most regardful now not to hazard. For we supposing not a little present private profit, but a public good and true zeal of promulgating God's holy church, by planting Christianity, to be the sole intent of the honorable setters forth of this discovery ; thought it generally most expedient, by our speedy return, to give the longer space of time to make provision for so weighty an enterprize.

Friday, the 14th day of June, early by four o'clock in the morning, with the tide, our two boats, and a little help of the wind, we rowed down to the river's mouth, and there came to an anchor about eleven o'clock. Afterward our captain in the light horseman searched the sounding all about the mouth and coming to the river, for his certain instruction of a perfect description.

The next day being Saturday, we weighed anchor, and with a breeze from the land, we sailed up to our watering place and there stopped, went on shore and filled all our empty casks with fresh water.

Our captain upon the rock in the midst of the harbor observed the height, latitude, and variation exactly upon his instruments.

1. Astrolabe. 2. Semisphere. 3. Ring instrument. 4. Cross staff. 5. And an excellent compass made for the variation.

The certainty whereof, together with the particularities of every depth and sounding, as well at our falling with the land, as in the discovery, and at our departure from the

coast; I refer to his own relation in the map of his geographical description, which for the benefit of others he intendeth most exactly to publish.*

The temperature of the climate (albeit a very important matter) I had almost passed without mentioning, because it afforded to us no great alteration from our disposition in England: somewhat hotter up into the main, because it lieth open to the south; the air so wholesome, as I suppose not any of us found ourselves at any time more healthful, more able to labor, nor with better stomachs to such good fare, as we partly brought, and partly found.

Sunday, the 16th of June, the wind being fair, and because we had set out of England upon a Sunday, made the islands upon a Sunday, and as we doubt not (by God's appointment) happily fell into our harbor upon a Sunday: so now (beseeching him still with like prosperity to bless our return into England our country, and from thence with his good will and pleasure to hasten our next arrival there) we weighed anchor and quit the land upon a Sunday.

Tuesday, the 18th day, being not run above thirty leagues from land, and our captain for his certain knowledge how to fall with the coast, having sounded every watch, and from forty fathoms had come into good deeping, to seventy, and so to an hundred: this day the weather being fair, after the four o'clock watch, when we supposed not to have found ground so far from land, and before sounded in above one hundred fathoms, we had ground in twenty-four fathoms. Wherefore our sails being down, Thomas King boatswain, presently cast out a hook, and before he judged it at ground, was fished and hauled up an exceeding great and well fed cod, then there were cast out three or four more, and the fish was so plentiful and so great, as when our captain would have set sail, we all desired him to suffer them to take fish awhile, because we were so delighted to see them catch so great fish, so fast as the hook came down: some with playing with the hook they took by the back, and one of the mates with two hooks at a lead, at five draughts to-

*The latitude he found to be forty-three degrees twenty minutes north. The variation eleven degrees fifteen minutes; viz: one point of the compass westward. And it is so much in England, by Linehouse near London, eastward. 4th *Purchas*, 1666. [Yet the river he ascended was undoubtedly the Penobscot.]

gether hauled up ten fishes : all were generally very great, some they measured to be five feet long, and three feet about.

This caused our captain not to marvel at the shoulding, for he perceived it was a fish bank ; which (for our farewell from the land) it pleased God in continuance of his blessings, to give us knowledge of : the abundant profit whereof should be alone sufficient cause to draw men again, if there were no other good both in present certain, and in hope probable to be discovered. To amplify this with words, were to add light to the sun : for every one in the ship could easily account this present commodity ; much more those of judgment which knew what belonged to fishing, would warrant (by the help of God) in a short voyage with few good fishers to make a more profitable return from hence than from Newfoundland : the fish being so much greater, better fed, and abundant with train, of which some they desired, and did bring into England to bestow among their friends, and to testify the true report.

After we kept our course directly for England, and with ordinary winds, and sometimes calms, upon Sunday, the 14th of July, about six o'clock at night, we were come into sounding in our channel, but with dark weather and contrary winds, we were constrained to beat up and down till Tuesday, the 16th of July, when by five o'clock in the morning we made Scylly ; from whence, hindered with calms and small winds, upon Thursday, the 18th of July, about four o'clock afternoon, we came into Dartmouth : which haven happily (with God's gracious assistance) we made our last and first harbor in England.

Further I have thought fit to add some things worthy to be regarded, which we have observed from the savages since we took them.

First although at the time when we surprised them, they made their best resistance, not knowing our purpose, nor what we were, nor how we meant to use them ; yet after perceiving by their kind usage we intended them no harm, they have never since seemed discontented with us, but very tractable, loving and willing by their best means to satisfy us in anything we demand of them, by words or signs for their understanding : neither have they at any time been

at the least discord among themselves: insomuch as we have not seen them angry, but merry; and so kind, as if you give anything to one of them, he will distribute part to every one of the rest.

We have brought them to understand some English, and we understand much of their language: so as we are able to ask them many things. And this we have observed, that if we shew them anything, and ask them if they have it in their country, they will tell you if they have it, and the use of it, the difference from ours in bigness, color, or form: but if they have it not be it a thing never so precious, they will deny the knowledge of it.

They have names for many stars, which they will shew in the firmament.

They shew great reverence to their king, and are in great subjection to their governors: and they will shew a great respect to any we tell them are our commanders.

They shew the manner how they make bread of their Indian wheat, and how they make butter and cheese of the milk they have of the reindeer and fallow deer, which they have tame as we have cows.

They have excellent colors. And having seen our indigo, they make shew of it, or of some other like thing which maketh as good a blue.

One especial thing is their manner of killing the whale, which they call powdawe; and will describe his form; how he bloweth up the water; and that he is twelve fathoms long; and that they go in company of their king with a multitude of their boats, and strike him with a bone made in fashion of a harping iron fastened to a rope, which they make great and strong of the bark of trees, which they veer out after him: then all their boats come about him, and as he riseth above water, with their arrows they shoot him to death: when they have killed him and dragged him to shore, they call all their chief lords together, and sing a song of joy: and those chief lords, whom they call sagamores, divide the spoil, and give to every man a share, which pieces so distributed, they hang up about their houses for provision: and when they boil them, they blow off the fat, and put to their pease, maize, and other pulse which they eat.

A Brief Note of what Profits we saw the Country yield in the small time of our stay there.

Trees. Oak of an excellent grain, strait and great timber; elm, beech; birch, very tall and great; of whose bark they make their canoes. Witch-hazel, hazel, alder, cherry-tree, ash, maple, yew, spruce, aspen, fir. Many fruit trees which we knew not.

Fowls. Eagles, hernshawes, cranes, ducks great, geese, swans, penguins, crows, shrikes, ravens, mews, turtle-doves. Many birds of sundry colors; many other fowls in flocks, unknown.

Beasts. Reindeer, stags, fallow-deer, bears, wolves, beaver, otter, hare, cony, hedge-hogs, polecats, wild great-cats. Dogs; some like wolves, some like spaniels.

Fishes. Whales, seals, cod very great, haddock great, herring great, plaice, thornback, rockfish, lobster great, crabs, muscles great, with pearls in them, cockles, wilks, cunner-fish, lumps, tortoises, oysters, whiting, soals.

Fruits, plants and herbs. Tobacco excellent, sweet and strong; abundance of wild vines, strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, whurtleberries, currant trees, rose-bushes; pease, ground-nuts; angelica, a most sovereign herb; an herb that spreadeth the ground, and smelleth like sweet marjoram, great plenty; very good dyes, which appear by their paintings, which they carry with them in bladders.

The names of the five savages which we brought home into England, which are all yet alive, are these.

1. Tahánedo, a sagamore or commander.
 2. Amóret;
 3. Skicowáros;
 4. Maneddo.
 5. Saffacomoit, a servant.
- } Gentlemen.

A
VOYAGE
INTO
NEW ENGLAND,

BEGUN IN 1623, AND ENDED IN 1624.

PERFORMED BY

CHRISTOPHER LEVETT,

HIS MAJESTY'S WOODWARD OF SOMERSETSHIRE, AND ONE
OF THE COUNCIL OF NEW ENGLAND.

PRINTED AT LONDON, BY WILLIAM JONES,

And are to be sold by Edward Brewster, at the sign
of the Bible, in Paul's Churchyard.

1628.

[No copy of this work being known to exist in this vicinity, it is here reprinted from a transcript procured by Professor Sparks in England, and communicated by F. C. Gray.]

To the Right Honorable, George Duke of Buckingham his Grace, Thomas Earl of Arundell and Surrey, Robert Earl of Warwick, John Earl of Holderness, and the rest of the Council for New England.

May it please your Lordships, that whereas you granted your commission unto Captain Robert Gorges, Governor of New England, Captain Francis West, myself, and the Governor of New Plymouth, as counsellors with him, for the ordering and governing of all the said territories, wherein we have been diligent to the uttermost of our powers, as we shall be ready to render an account unto your honors, when you shall be pleased to require us thereunto. In the meantime, I thought it my duty to present unto your views, such observation as I have taken, both for the country and people, commodities and discommodities : as also, what places are fit to settle plantations in, which not ; what courses are fit in my understanding to be taken, for bringing glory to God, honor to our king and nation, good unto the commonwealth, and profit to all adventurers and planters : which I humbly beseech your lordships to accept of, as the best fruits of a shallow capacity ; so shall I think my time and charge well employed, which I have spent in these affairs.

I have omitted many things in this my discourse, which I conceived to be impertinent at this time for me to relate, as of the time of my being at sea, of the strange fish which we there saw, some with wings flying above the water, others with manes, ears, and heads, and chasing one another with open mouths like stone horses in a park, as also of the steering of our course, the observation of the sun and stars, by which the elevation of the pole is found, the degrees of latitude known, which shows how far a ship is out of his due course, either to the north or south : likewise of the making of the land at our arrival upon the coast of New England, how it did arise and appear unto us : how every

harbor bears one from another upon the point of the compass; and what rocks and dangers are in the way; how many fathoms water is found by sounding at the entrance of any harbor; and from how many of the several winds all the harbors are land-locked. But by this means I thought I should not only be tedious, but also in danger of losing myself, for want of fit phrases and sound judgment, in the arts of the mathematics and navigation, (being but a young scholar, though an ancient traveller by sea,) and therefore thought better to omit those, than anything I have to relate.

Thus beseeching God to bless your honors, I rest at your Lordship's service.

CHRISTOPHER LEVETT.

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A VOYAGE INTO NEW ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Contains my Discovery of divers Rivers and Harbors ; with their names, and which are fit for plantation and which not.

The first place I set my foot upon in New England, was the Isle of Shoals, being islands in the sea, about two leagues from the main.

Upon these islands, I neither could see one good timber tree, nor so much good ground as to make a garden.

The place is found to be a good fishing place for six ships, but more cannot well be there, for want of convenient stage room, as this year's experience hath proved.

The harbor is but indifferent good. Upon these islands are no savages at all.

The next place I came unto was Pannaway, where one M. Tomson hath made a plantation, there I stayed about one month, in which time I sent for my men from the east : who came over in divers ships.

At this place I met with the Governor, who came thither in a bark which we had from one M. Weston about twenty days before I arrived in the land.

The Governor then told me that I was joined with him in commission as a counsellor, which being read I found it was so. And he then, in the presence of three more of the counsel, administered unto me an oath.

After the meeting of my men, I went a coasting in two boats with all my company.

In the time I stayed with M. Tomson, I surveyed as much as possible I could, the weather being unseasonable and very much snow.

In those parts I saw much good timber, but the ground it seemed to me not to be good, being very rocky and full of trees and brushwood.

There is great store of fowl of divers sorts, whereof I fed very plentifully.

About two English miles further to the east, I found a great river and a good harbor called Piscataway. But for the ground I can say nothing, but by the relation of the sagamore or king of that place, who told me there was much good ground up in the river about seven or eight leagues.

About two leagues further to the east is another great river called Aquamenticus. There I think a good plantation may be settled, for there is a good harbor for ships, good ground, and much already cleared, fit for planting of corn and other fruits, having heretofore been planted by the savages who are all dead. There is good timber, and likely to be good fishing, but as yet there hath been no trial made that I can hear of.

About six leagues further to the east is a harbor called Cape Porpas, the which is indifferent good for six ships, and it is generally thought to be an excellent place for fish, but as yet there hath been no trial made, but there may be a good plantation seated, for there is good timber and good ground, but will require some labor and charge.

About four leagues further east, there is another harbor called Saco; (between this place and Cape Porpas I lost one of my men); before we could recover the harbor a great fog or mist took us that we could not see a hundred yards from us. I perceiving the fog to come upon the sea, called for a compass and set the capeland, by which we knew how to steer our course, which was no sooner done but we lost sight of land, and my other boat, and the wind blew fresh against us, so that we were enforced to strike sail, and betake us to our oars which we used with all the wit and strength we had, but by no means could we recover the shore that night, being imbayed and compassed round with breaches, which roared in a most fearful manner on every side of us: we took counsel in this extremity one of another what to do to save our lives; at length we resolved that to put to sea again in the night was no fit course, the storm being great, and the wind blowing right off the shore, and

to run our boat on the shore among the breaches, (which roared in a most fearful manner) and cast her away and endanger ourselves we were loath to do, seeing no land nor knowing where we were. At length I caused our killick (which was the anchor we had) to be cast forth, and one continually to hold his hand upon the rood or cable, by which we knew whether our anchor held or no: which being done we commended ourselves to God by prayer, and put on a resolution to be as comfortable as we could, and so fell to our victuals. Thus we spent that night, and the next morning; with much ado we got into Saco, where I found my other boat.

There I stayed five nights, the wind being contrary, and the weather very unseasonable, having much rain and snow, and continual fogs.

We built us our wigwam, or house, in one hour's space. It had no frame, but was without form or fashion, only a few poles set up together, and covered with our boat's sails, which kept forth but a little wind, and less rain and snow.

Our greatest comfort we had, next unto that which was spiritual, was this; we had fowl enough for killing, wood enough for felling, and good fresh water enough for drinking.

But our beds was the wet ground, and our bedding our wet clothes. We had plenty of crane, goose, ducks and mallard, with other fowl, both boiled and roasted, but our spits and racks were many times in danger of burning before the meat was ready (being but wooden ones.)

After I had stayed there three days, and no likelihood of a good wind to carry us further, I took with me six of my men, and our arms, and walked along the shore to discover as much by land as I could: after I had travelled about two English miles I met with a river which stayed me that I could go no further by land that day but returned to our place of habitation where we rested that night (having our lodging amended) for the day being dry I caused all my company to accompany me to a marsh ground, where we gathered every man his burthen of long dry grass, which being spread in our wigwam or house, I praise God I rested as contentedly as ever I did in all my life. And then came into my mind an old merry saying, which I have heard of a

beggar boy, who said if ever he should attain to be a king, he would have a breast of mutton with a pudding in it, and lodge every night up to the ears in dry straw, and thus I made myself and my company as merry as I could, with this and some other conceits, making this use of all, that it was much better than we deserved at God's hands, if he should deal with us according to our sins.

The next morning I caused four of my men to row my lesser boat to this river, who with much ado got in myself, and three more going by land ; but by reason of the extremity of the weather we were enforced to stay there that night, and were constrained to sleep upon the river bank, being the best place we could find, the snow being very deep.

The next morning we were enforced to rise betime, for the tide came up so high that it washed away our fire, and would have served us so too if we had not kept watch. So we went over the river in our boat, where I caused some to stay with her, myself being desirous to discover further by land, I took with me four men and walked along the shore about six English miles further to the east where I found another river, which stayed me. So we returned back to Saco, where the rest of my company and my other boat lay. That night I was exceeding sick, by reason of the wet and cold and much toiling of my body : but thanks be to God I was indifferent well the next morning, and the wind being fair we put to sea, and that day came to Quack.

But before I speak of this place I must say something of Saco, and the two rivers which I discovered in that bay, which I think never Englishman saw before.

Saco is about one league to the north-east of a cape land. And about one English mile from the main lieth six islands, which make an indifferent good harbor. And in the main there is a cove or gut, which is about a cable's length in breadth, and two cables' length long, there two good ships may ride, being well moored ahead and stern, and within the cove there is a great marsh, where at a high water a hundred sail of ships may float, and be free from all winds, but at low water must lie aground, but being soft ooze they can take no hurt.

In this place there is a world of fowl, much good timber

and a great quantity of clear ground and good, if it be not a little too sandy. There hath been more fish taken within two leagues of this place this year than in any other in the land.

The river next to Saco eastwards, which I discovered by land, and after brought my boat into, is the strangest river that ever my eyes beheld. It flows at least ten foot water upright, and yet the ebb runs so strong that the tide doth not stem it. At three quarters flood my men were scarce able with four oars to row ahead. And more than that, at full sea I dipped my hand in the water, quite without the mouth of the river, in the very main ocean, and it was as fresh as though it had been taken from the head of a spring.

This river, as I am told by the savages, cometh from a great mountain called the Crystal hill, being as they say one hundred miles in the country, yet is it to be seen at the sea side, and there is no ship arrives in New England, either to the west so far as Cape Cod, or to the east so far as Monhiggen, but they see this mountain the first land, if the weather be clear.

The next river eastward which I discovered by land, is about six miles from the other. About these two rivers I saw much good timber and sandy ground, there is also much fowl, fish and other commodities: but these places are not fit for plantation for the present, because there is no good coming in, either for ship or boat, by reason of a sandy breach which lieth along the shore, and makes all one breach.

And now in its place I come to Quack, which I have named York. At this place there fished divers ships of Waymouth this year.

It lieth about two leagues to the east of Cape Elizabeth. It is a bay or sound betwixt the main and certain islands which lieth in the sea about one English mile and half.

There are four islands which makes one good harbor, there is very good fishing, much fowl and the main as good ground as any can desire. There I found one river wherein the savages say there is much salmon and other good fish. In this bay, there hath been taken this year four sturgeons, by fishermen who drive only for herrings, so that it is likely there may be good store taken if there were men fit for that

purpose. This river I made bold to call by my own name, Levett's river, being the first that discovered it. How far this river is navigable I cannot tell; I have been but six miles up it, but on both sides is goodly ground.

In the same bay I found another river, up which I went about three miles and found a great fall of water, much bigger than the fall at London bridge at low water, further a boat cannot go, but above the fall the river runs smooth again.

I note at this fall of water the sagamore or king of that place hath a house, where I was one day when there were two sagamores more, their wives and children, in all about fifty, and we were but seven. They bid me welcome and gave me such victuals as they had, and I gave them tobacco and aqua vitæ.

After I had spent a little time with them I departed and gave them a small shot, and they gave me another. And the great sagamore of the east country, whom the rest do acknowledge to be chief amongst them, he gave unto me a beaver's skin, which I thankfully received, and so in great love we parted. On both sides this river there is goodly ground.

From this harbor to Sagadahock, which is about eight or nine leagues, is all broken islands in the sea, which makes many excellent good harbors, where a thousand sail of ships may ride in safety; the sound going up within the islands to the cape of Sagadahock.

In the way betwixt York and Sagadahock lieth Cascoe, a good harbor, good fishing, good ground, and much fowl. And I am persuaded that from cape Elizabeth to Sagadahock, which is above thirty leagues to follow the main, is all exceeding commodious for plantations; and that there may be twenty good towns well seated, to take the benefit both of the sea, and fresh rivers.

For Sagadahock I need say nothing of it, there hath been heretofore enough said by others, and I fear me too much. But the place is good; there fished this year two ships.

The next place I came to was Capemanwagan, a place where nine ships fished this year. But I like it not for a plantation, for I could see little good timber and less good ground; there I staid four nights, in which time, there came

many savages with their wives and children, and some of good account amongst them, as Menawormet a sagamore, Cogawesco the sagamore of Casco, and Quack, now called York, Somerset, a sagamore, one that hath been found very faithful to the English, and hath saved the lives of many of our nation, some from starving, others from killing.

They intended to have been gone presently, but hearing of my being there, they desired to see me, which I understood by one of the masters of the ships, who likewise told me that they had some store of beaver coats and skins, and was going to Pemaquid to truck with one Mr. Witheridge, a master of a ship of Bartable, and desired me to use means that they should not carry them out of the harbor. I wished them to bring all their truck to one Mr. Coke's stage, and I would do the best I could to put it away: some of them did accordingly, and I then sent for the sagamores, who came, and after some compliments they told me I must be their cousin, and that Captain Gorges was so, (which you may imagine I was not a little proud of, to be adopted cousin to so many great kings at one instant, but did willingly accept of it) and so passing away a little time very pleasantly, they desired to be gone, whereupon I told them that I understood they had some coats and beaver skins which I desired to truck for: but they were unwilling, and I seemed careless of it (as men must do if they require anything of them.) But at last Somerset swore that there should be none carried out of the harbor, but his cousin Levett should have all, and then they began to offer me some by way of gift, but I would take none but one pair of sleeves from Cogawesco, but told them it was not the fashion of English captains always to be taking, but sometimes to take and give, and continually to truck was very good. But in fine, we had all except one coat and two skins, which they reserved to pay an old debt with; but they staying all that night, had them stole from them.

In the morning the sagamores came to me with a grievous complaint. I used the best language I could to give them content, and went with them to some stages which they most suspected, and searched both cabins and chests, but found none. They seeing my willingness to find the thief out, gave me thanks, and wished me to forbear, saying the

rogues had carried them into the woods where I could not find them.

When they were ready to depart they asked me where I meant to settle my plantation. I told them I had seen many places to the west, and intended to go further to the east before I could resolve; they said there was no good place, and I had heard that Pemoquid, and Capmanwagan, and Monhiggon were granted to others, and the best time for fishing was then at hand, which made me the more willing to retire, and the rather because Cogawesco the sagamore of Casco and Quack, told me if that I would sit down at either of those two places, I should be very welcome, and that he and his wife would go along with me in my boat to see them, which courtesy I had no reason to refuse, because I had set up my resolution before to settle my plantation at Quack, which I named York, and was glad of this opportunity, that I had obtained the consent of them, who as I conceive hath a natural right of inheritance, as they are the sons of Noah, and therefore do think it fit to carry things very fairly without compulsion, (if it be possible,) for avoiding of treachery.

The next day the wind came fair, and I sailed to Quack or York, with the king, queen, and prince, bow and arrows, dog and kettle in my boat, his noble attendance rowing by us in their canoes.

When we came to York the masters of the ships came to bid me welcome, and asked what savages those were. I told them, and I thanked them; they used them kindly, and gave them meat, drink, and tobacco. The woman or reputed queen, asked me if those men were my friends. I told her they were; then she drank to them, and told them they were welcome to her country, and so should all my friends be at any time; she drank also to her husband, and bid him welcome to her country too; for you must understand that her father was the sagamore of this place, and left it to her at his death, having no more children.

And thus after many dangers, much labor and great charge, I have obtained a place of habitation in New England, where I have built a house, and fortified it in a reasonable good fashion, strong enough against such enemies as are those savage people.

CHAPTER II.

Sheweth how the Savages carried themselves unto me continually, and of my going to their King's houses : and their coming to mine.

Whilst I stayed in this place I had some little truck, but not much, by reason of an evil member in the harbor, who being covetous of truck used the matter so, that he got the savages away from me.

And it is no wonder that he should abuse me in this sort, for he hath not spared your lordships and all the counsel for New England.

He said unto the governor that the lords had sent men over into that country with commissions, to make a prey of others. And yet for my own part I never demanded or took from any man in that country, the value of a denier, neither had I so much help from any ship or ship's company as one man's labor the space of an hour, nor had I any provision or victual upon any terms whatsoever, save only one thousand of bread, and twenty-two bushels of peas, which was offered unto me, and not by me requested, for which I gave present satisfaction in beaver skins : and also one runlet of aqua vitæ, which was brought to me sixteen leagues unexpected, which good manners bid me buy. Much more provision was offered to me by many masters of ships, but I had no need thereof, so I gave them thanks for their kindness, and refused all.

Nay, it is well known, that I was so far from doing wrong to any, that I suffered the land which was granted to me by patent, and made choice of before any other man came there, to be used, and my timber to be cut down and spoiled, without taking or asking any satisfaction for the same. And I doubt not but all others to whom you gave authority, will sufficiently clear themselves of all such imputations.

He said also he cared not for any authority in that place, and though he was forbid to truck, yet would he have all he could get : in despite of who should say to the contrary,

having a great ship with seventeen pieces of ordnance and fifty men.

And indeed his practice was according to his words, for every Sunday, or once in the week, he went himself or sent a boat up the river and got all the truck before they could come down to the harbor. And so many savages as he could get to his stage, he would enforce them to leave their goods behind them. One instance amongst many I will give you.

On a certain day there came two savages to his place, who were under the command of Somerset or Conway, I know not whether, at which time they were both with me at my house, but the other two who went to him, knew not so much, but afterwards they understanding of it, came presently over, but left their coats and beaver skins behind them, whereat Somerset and Conway were exceeding angry; and were ready to beat the poor fellows, but I would not suffer them so to do. They presently went over the harbor themselves in their canoe to fetch their goods, but this man would let them have none, but wished them to truck with him; they told him they would not, but would carry them to Captain Levett; he said Levett was no captain, but a jacknape, a poor fellow, &c. They told him again that he was a rogue, with some other speeches, whereupon he and his company fell upon them and beat them both, in so much that they came to me in a great rage against him, and said they would be revenged on his fishermen at sea, and much ado I had to dissuade one of them from going into England to tell king James of it, as he said; when they came to me in this rage, there was two or three masters of ships by, and heard every word.

But all this did me no hurt, (save the loss of the truck, which by divers was thought to be worth above fifty pounds,) for the two sagamores whom he enticed from me and incensed against me, at length used means to be friends with me, sending one who asked me, if I were angry with them; I told them no, I was not angry with them for any such matter as lousy coats and skins, but if they were *matchet*, that is, naughty men, and rebellious, then I would be *mouchick hogger*, that is very angry, and would *cram*, that is kill them all.

When they came themselves to me to seek peace, they

brought me in a beaver coat, and two otter skins which they would have let me had for nothing, but I would not take them so, but gave them more than usually I did by way of truck. I then told them likewise that if at any time they did truck with me, they should have many good things in lieu of their beaver; and if they did not truck it was no matter, I would be good friends with them, at which they smiled and talked one to the other, saying the other was a jacknape, and that I had the right fashion of the *aberieney* sagamores; then they began to applaud or rather flatter me, saying I was so big a sagamore, yea four fathom, which were the best words they could use to express their minds: I replied that I was a poor man as he had reported of me. They said again it was no matter what I said, or that jacknape (which is the most disgraceful word that may be in their conceit,) for all the sagamores in the country loved poor Levett and was *muchick* sorry that he would be gone, and indeed I cannot tell what I should think of them, for ever after they would bring me content, as eggs and the whole bodies of beaver, which in my conceit eat like lamb, and is not inferior to it: yea the very coats of beaver and otter skins, from off their backs, which though I many times refused, yet not always, but I never took any such courtesy from them, but I requited them answerably, choosing rather to neglect the present profit, than the hopes I have to bring them to better things, which I hope will be for a public good, and which I am persuaded were a grievous sin, to neglect for any sinister end.

And a little before my departure there came these sagamores to see me: Sadamoyt the great sagamore of the east country, Manawormet, Opparunwit, Shedraguscett, Cogawesco, Somerset, Conway and others.

They asked me why I would be gone out of their country? I was glad to tell them my wife would not come thither except I did fetch her; they bid a pox on her hounds (a phrase they have learned and do use when they do curse) and wished me to beat her. I told them no, for then our God would be angry. Then they run out upon her in evil terms, and wished me to let her alone and take another; I told them our God would be more angry for that. Again they bid me beat her, repeating it often, and very angrily,

but I answered no, that was not the English fashion, and besides she was a good wife and I had children by her, and I loved her well, so I satisfied them. Then they told me that I and my wife and children, with all my friends should be heartily welcome into that country at any time, yea a hundredth thousand times, *mouchicke, mouchicke*, which is a word of weight.

And Somersett told that his son (who was born whilst I was in the country, and whom he would needs have to name) and mine should be brothers and that there should be *mouchicke legamatch*, (that is friendship) betwixt them, until Tanto carried them to his wigwam, (that is until they died.)

Then they must know of me how long I would be wanting. I told them so many months, at which they seemed to be well pleased, but wished me to take heed I proved not *ohechaske* in that (that is liar.) They asked me what I would do with my house; I told them I would leave ten of my men there until I came again, and that they should kill all the Tarrentens they should see (being enemies to them) and with whom the English have no commerce. At which they rejoiced exceedingly, and then agreed amongst themselves, that when the time should be expired, which I spoke of for my return, every one at that place where he lived should look to the sea, and when they did see a ship they would send to all the sagamores in the country, and tell them that poor Levett was come again, and thus instead of doing me hurt, I think that either he or I have done good to all planters, by winning their affections, (which may be made use of without trusting of them.)

But if your Lordships should put up this wrong done unto you, and the authority which you gave them, never expect to be obeyed in those parts, either by planters or fishermen; for some have not stuck to say, that if such a man, contemning authority, and abusing one of the council, and drawing his knife upon him at his own house, which he did, should go unpunished, then would not they care what they did hereafter.

And truly let me tell your Lordships, that if ever you intend to punish any for disobedience, or contempt of authority, this man is a fit instrument to make a precedent of, for

he is rich, and this year will gain the best part of five hundred pounds by that country, and he hath neither wife nor child, for whose sakes he should be spared.

And if he go free, as he hath domineered over us, to whom your Lordships gave authority, but no power to put it in execution, so will he grow unmannerly too with your Lordships, as he hath already begun.

And it will discourage men hereafter to take any authority upon them, or to go about to reform any abuses in those parts, and also it will hinder planters from going over, if fishermen be suffered not only to take away their truck, but also to animate the savages against them, for this is the way to cause all planters to have their throats cut.

But I leave these things to your Lordships' consideration, who have so well power as authority to punish such rebellious persons.

Thus having acquainted you with what I have done, seen, and heard, now give me leave to tell you what I think of the savages, the inhabitants of that country : as also to justify the innocent, I mean the country of New England, against the slanderous reports of this man, and some others which I have heard, and likewise to deliver my opinion, what courses I conceive to be most convenient to be taken, for bringing most glory to God, comfort, honor and benefit to our king, and our own native nation.

CHAPTER III.

Sheweth the nature and disposition of the Savages, and of their several Gods, Squanto and Tanto.

I have had much conference with the savages, about our only true God, and have done my best to bring them to know and acknowledge him ; but I fear me all the labor that way will be lost, and no good will be done, except it be among the younger sort.

I find they have two gods : one they love and the other they hate : the god they love, they call Squanto, and to him they ascribe all their good fortunes.

The god they hate they call Tanto, and to him they ascribe all their evil fortunes, as thus, when any is killed, hurt or sick, or when it is evil weather, then they say Tanto is *hoggry*, that is angry. When any dies, they say Tanto carries them to his *wigwam*, that is his house, and they never see them more.

I have asked them where Squanto dwells: they say they cannot tell; but up on high, and will point upwards. And for Tanto, they say far west, but they know not where.

I have asked them if at any time they have seen Squanto, or Tanto: they say no, there is none sees them but their pawwaws, nor they neither, but when they dream.

Their pawwaws are their physicians and surgeons, and as I verily believe they are all witches, for they foretell of ill weather, and many strange things; every sagamore hath one of them who belongs to his company, and they are altogether directed by them.

On a time I was at a sagamore's house, and saw a martin's skin, and asked if he would truck it; the sagamore told me no: the pawwaw used to lay that under his head when he dreamed, and if he wanted that, he could do nothing: thus we may perceive how the devil deludes those poor people, and keeps them in blindness.

I find them generally to be marvellous quick of apprehension, and full of subtlety; they will quickly find any man's disposition, and flatter and humor him strangely, if they hope to get anything of him; and yet they will count him a fool if he do not shew a dislike of it, and will say one to another, that such a man is *mechecome*.

They are slow of speech, and if they hear a man speak much they will laugh at him, and say he is *mehecum*, that is a fool.

If men of place be too familiar with them, they will not respect them; therefore it is to be wished that all such persons should be wise in their carriage.

The sagamores will scarce speak to an ordinary man, but will point to their men, and say sanops must speak to sanops, and sagamores to sagamores.

They are very bloody-minded and full of treachery amongst themselves; one will kill another for their wives, and he that hath the most wives is the bravest fellow; therefore I would

wish no man to trust them, whatever they say or do ; but always to keep a strict hand over them, and yet to use them kindly, and deal uprightly with them ; so shall they please God, keep their reputation amongst them, and be free from danger.

Their sagamores are no kings, as I verily believe, for I can see no government or law amongst them but club law ; and they call all masters of ships sagamore, or any other man that they see have a command of men.

Their wives are their slaves, and do all the work ; the men will do nothing but kill beasts, fish, &c.

On a time reasoning with one of their sagamores, about their having so many wives, I told him it was no good fashion ; he then asked me how many wives king James had ; I told him he never had but one, and she was dead, at which he wondered, and asked me who then did all the king's work. You may imagine he thought their fashion was universal, and that no king had any to work for them but their wives.

They have no apparel but skins, except they have it from the English or French ; in winter they wear the hair side inwards, in summer outwards. They have a piece of a skin about their loins like a girdle, and between their legs goes another, made fast to the girdle before and behind, which serves to cover their nakedness ; they are all thus apparelled, going bare-headed with long hair ; sometimes you shall not know the men from the women but by their breasts ; the men having no hair on their faces.

When their children are born they bind them on a piece of board, and set it upright, either against a tree or any other place. They keep them thus bound until they be three months old ; and after, they are continually naked until they be about five or six years.

Ye shall have them many times take their children and bury them in the snow all but their faces for a time, to make them the better to endure cold ; and when they are above two years old, they will take them and cast them into the sea, like a little dog or cat, to learn them to swim.

Their weapons are bows and arrows ; I never saw more than two fowling pieces, one pistol, about four half-pikes, and three cutlasses amongst them, so that we need not to fear them much, if we avoid their treachery.

Their houses are built in half an hour's space, being only a few poles or boughs stuck in the ground and covered with the barks of trees.

Their language differs as English and Welsh. On a time the governor was at my house, and brought with him a savage, who lived not above seventy miles from the place which I have made choice of, who talking with another savage, they were glad to use broken English to express their mind each to the other, not being able to understand one another in their language.

And to say something of the country. I will not do therein as some have done to my knowledge, speak more than is true; I will not tell you that you may smell the corn fields before you see the land; neither must men think that corn doth grow naturally, (or on trees,) nor will the deer come when they are called, or stand still and look on a man until he shoot him, not knowing a man from a beast; nor the fish leap into the kettle, nor on the dry land, neither are they so plentiful, that you may dip them up in baskets, nor take cod in nets to make a voyage, which is no truer than that the fowls will present themselves to you with spits through them.

But certainly there is fowl, deer, and fish enough for the taking, if men be diligent; there be also vines, plum trees, strawberries, gooseberries, and rasps, walnuts, chestnut, and small nuts, of each great plenty; there is also great store of parsley, and divers other wholesome herbs, both for profit and pleasure, with great store of sassafras, sarsaparilla, and aniseeds.

And for the ground there is a large and goodly marsh to make meadow, higher land for pasture and corn.

There be these several sorts of earth, which I have seen, as clay, sand, gravel, yea, and as black fat earth, as ever I saw in England in all my life.

There are likewise these helps for ground, as seasand, oreworth or wrack, marl, blue and white, and some men say there is lime; but I must confess I never saw any limestone: but I have tried the shells of fish, and I find them to be good lime.

Now let any husbandman tell me, whether there be any fear of having any kind of corn, having these several kinds

of earth with these helps, the climate being full as good if not better than England.

I dare be bold to say also, there may be ships as conveniently there as in any place in the world, where I have been, and better cheap. As for plank, crooked timber, and all other sorts whatsoever can be desired for such purpose, the world cannot afford better.

Masts and yards of all sizes, there be also trees growing, whereof pitch and tar is made.

And for sails and all sorts of cordish you need not to want, if you but sow hemp and flaxseed, and after work it. Now there wants nothing but iron, and truly I think I have seen iron-stone there, but must acknowledge I have no great judgment in minerals, yet I have seen the iron-works in England, and this stone is like ours. But howsoever if the country will not afford iron, yet it may be easily brought, for it is good ballast for ships.

There is also much excellent timber for joiners and coopers; howsoever a worthy nobleman hath been abused, who sent over some to make pipe-staves; who either for want of skill or industry, did no good. Yet I dare say no place in England can afford better timber for pipe-staves, than four several places which I have seen in that country.

Thus have I related unto you what I have seen, and do know may be had in those parts of New England where I have been, yet was I never at the Mesachusett, which is counted the paradise of New England, nor at Cape Ann, but I fear there hath been too fair a gloss set on Cape Ann. I am told there is a good harbor which makes a fair invitation, but when they are in, their entertainment is not answerable, for there is little good ground, and the ships which fished there this year, their boats went twenty miles to take their fish, and yet they were in great fear of making their voyages, as one of the masters confessed unto me who was at my house.

Neither was I at New Plymouth, but I fear that place is not so good as many others, for if it were, in my conceit, they would content themselves with it and not seek for any other, having ten times so much ground as would serve ten times so many people as they have now amongst them. But it seems they have no fish to make benefit of, for this year

they had one ship fish at Pemoquid, and another at Cape Ann, where they have begun a new plantation, but how long it will continue I know not.

Neither was I ever farther to the west than the Isle of Shoals.

Thus have I done with my commendations of the country ; I will now speak the worst I know by it.

About the middle of May you shall have little flies, called mosquitoes, which are like gnats ; they continue, as I am told, until the last of July. These are very troublesome for the time, for they sting exceedingly both by night and day. But I found by experience that boots or thick stockings would save the legs, gloves the hands, and tiffany or some such things which will not much hinder the sight, will save the face, and at night any smoke will secure a man.

The reason of the abundance of these creatures, I take to be the woods which hinders the air, for I have observed always when the wind did blow but a little, we were not much troubled with them.

And I verily think that if there were a good number of people planted together, and that the woods were cut down, the earth were tilled, and the rubbish which lieth on the ground wherein they breed were burnt, and that there were many chimneys smoking, such small creatures would do but little hurt.

Another evil or inconvenience I see there, the snow in winter did lie very long upon the ground.

But I understand that all the parts of Christendom were troubled with a cold winter as well as we. Yet would I ask any man what hurt snow doeth ? The husbandman will say that corn is the better for it. And I hope cattle may be as well fed in the house there as in England, Scotland, and other countries, and he is but an ill husband that cannot find employments for his servants within doors for that time. As for wives and children if they be wise they will keep themselves close by a good fire, and for men they will have no occasion to ride to fairs or markets, sizes or sessions, only hawks and hounds will not then be useful.

Yet let me tell you that it is still almost Christmas before there be any winter there, so that the cold time doth not continue long.

And by all reason that country should be hotter than England, being many degrees farther from the north pole.

And thus according to my poor understanding I have given you the best information I can of the people and country, commodities and discommodities. Now give me leave to oppose myself against the man beforementioned, and others, who speaks against the country, and plantations in those parts, and to set down such objections as I have heard them make, and my answers, and afterward let wisdom judge: for my desire is, that the saddle may be set on the right horse, and the ass may be rid, and the knave punished either for discouraging or encouraging too much, whosoever he be.

CHAPTER V.

Certain Objections and Answers, with sufficient Proofs how it may be exceeding profitable to the Commonwealth, and all Planters and Adventurers.

They say the country is good for nothing but to starve so many people as comes in it.

It is granted that some have been starved to death, and others have hardly escaped, but where was the fault, in the country or in themselves. That the country is as I have said, I can bring one hundred men to justify it; but if men be neither industrious nor provident, they may starve in the best place of the world.

About two years since one Mr. Weston sent over about fifty persons to plant, with little provision; when they came there, they neither applied themselves to planting of corn nor taking of fish, more than for their present use, but went about to build castles in the air, and making of forts, neglecting the plentiful time of fishing. When winter came their forts would not keep out hunger, and they having no provision beforehand, and wanting both powder and shot to kill deer and fowl, many were starved to death, and the rest hardly escaped. There are four of his men which escaped, now at my plantation, who have related unto me the whole business.

Again, this last year there went over divers at one time, and to one place, with too little provision ; some of them are dead, yet I cannot hear of any that were merely starved, except one whose name was Chapman, a Londoner, and whether he was starved or no is uncertain ; but if he were, God's just judgment did appear.

For this man (as I am told by an honest man who came from London with him) brought at the least eighty pounds' worth of provision, and no more but himself and two servants, which was sufficient for at the least eighteen months, if it had been well used. And yet in five months after his arrival in New England he died miserably.

Let me tell you a strange thing of this man ; (I have it but by relation from one of his companions) he payed for his passage, and his mens', and provision, so that he needed not to have spent any thing until his arrival in New England, yet would he at Plymouth, (where the ship stayed too long for him and others,) spent seven or eight pound a week in wine, tobacco, and whores, and for the maintaining of this expense he daily fetched his provision from aboard, and sold it at a low rate. And when they were at sea, his tobacco being spent, he gave usually sixpence for a pipe ; he gave also a suit of clothes, valued to be worth fifty shillings, for so much tobacco as was not worth half a crown. Nay, at last, as his comrade told me, he was glad to become servant to one of his servants. Then his master told him, that if he would work he would allow him one biscuit cake a day, if not he should have but half a cake. He made choice of half a cake, without work ; and so a base, lazy fellow, made a lamentable end. Where was the fault now, in the men or in the country ?

Another objection which I have met with, is this : That there is nothing got or saved by sending men over to plant ; neither is it beneficial either to private men, either adventurer or planter, or good for the commonwealth.

In answer hereunto, first for matter of profit, it is well known to all the merchants of the west country, who have left almost all other trade but this, and yet is grown rich thereby.

Secondly, for the commonwealth consider these things :

1. The great complaint that hath for so long time been

made in England, that our land is overburthened with people, and that there is no employment for our men, so that it is likely they must either starve, steal, or prove mutinous, and whether plantations be a means to help this inconvenience or no, I desire to know ?

It hath been likewise said unto me, that it benefits the commonwealth nothing at all to send men over with provision of clothes, victuals, and continual supplies.

To that I say, let such men, as you send thither to plant, have provision as Chapman had for eighteen months, and if after, they cannot live of themselves, and be beneficial either to the commonwealth or to themselves, let them die Chapman's death.

Again plantations may be beneficial to the commonwealth, by the enlargement of his majesty's dominions.

Again by the increase of shipping, (which is the strength of a nation,) and that without wasting of our timber, which is a commodity that I fear England will find the want of before many years pass over ; for if timber go to decay as now it doth, we shall scarce have any to build, or repair ships or houses. Again, tell me whether it would be beneficial to the commonwealth to have all our idle persons kept to work, and our populous nation disburthened, and yet to have them ready to serve our king and country upon all occasions ?

Lastly, tell me whether it would be beneficial to the commonwealth to have all poor people maintained out of those arts. And every parish freed from their weekly payments to the poor, which if I do not make to appear, then let me be accounted an unworthy fellow. But first let me set down another objection, which seems to be of great force, and yet in my conceit is like the rest, shallow, and that is this.

If, say they, there be so many plantations, there will be no room in the country for such ships as do come yearly to make voyages, and by this means ships shall lie still and decay, mariners and fishermen shall want employment, and so all will be out of frame if ever we shall have wars. And therefore, howsoever it may be beneficial to some few persons, yet it will be hurtful to the commonwealth.

I answer, that if these things were thoroughly examined

by his majesty, the parliament, or council-table, it would plainly appear, that the most of them which keep such ado against plantations, are the greatest enemies to the public good, and that their shew of care for the commonwealth is nothing but a color, for the more clearly concealing of their unknown profits. It will also appear, that plantations are for the public good, and by that means there shall be more and better cheap ships built and employed, more mariners and fishermen kept to work than now there are, and more people partakers of the benefits than now there doth.

Which I prove thus: first, there may be timber had to build ships, and ground for corn and keeping of cattle, and all for little or nothing.

Secondly, there may be more men trained up in fishing than now there is, whose trade is decayed in England, and they ready to starve for want of employments.

Thirdly, there may be twice so much fish taken every year as now there is. For ships that go to make voyages, seldom or never keep their boats at sea above two months or ten weeks, for making their voyage, and I dare maintain that there is fish enough to be taken, seven months in the year, if men be there ready to take opportunities.

Fourthly, the more fish that is taken, the more ships there must be for the transportation of it.

Fifthly, whereas now none doth take the benefit, but a few merchants; not all the merchants in the land, no not one of a thousand.

By plantations, not only all the merchants in the land, but all the people in the land may partake thereof.

And now to shew you how the profit may arise.

CHAPTER VI.

Sheweth how by adventuring of a hundred pounds, more or less, a man may profit so much every year, for twenty years or longer, without any more charge than at the first.

I must confess I have studied no other art a long time but the mysteries of New England's trade, and I hope at last, I

have attained to the understanding of the secrets of it, which I think the fishermen are sorry for ; but it shall be no longer concealed, for that I think every good subject is bound to prefer the public before his own private good.

First, therefore, I will shew you the charge which every merchant is at yearly, in sending their ships to fish there, and so near as I can the profit they make of such voyages. Then we will see the charge which planters must be at, in sending men over to stay there, and the profit they are likely to make, and so by comparing the one with the other, we shall see which is the better and more profitable course.

A ship of two hundred ton, commonly doth carry in those voyages fifty men ; these men are at no charge, but twenty shillings a man towards their victuals, neither have they any wages ; but in lieu thereof, they have one third part of all the fish and train.

Another third part is allowed the owners of the ship for their freight, and the other third part is allowed for the victual, salt, nets, hooks, lines and other implements for taking and making the fish.

The charge of victualling (which is usually for nine months,) the salt, &c., doth commonly amount to about eight hundred pounds ; and for that they have (as I said one third part of the fish,) which is near sixty-seven ton, the ship being laden, which will make thirteen hundred and forty quintals, (at the market). Sometimes when they come to a good market they sell their fish for forty-four rials a quintal, and so to thirty-six rials, which is the least, but say they have forty, one time with another, and at that rate one third of the ships lading, doth yield thirteen hundred and forty pounds, which they have for disbursing of eight hundred pounds nine months.

Now take notice that they are but eight or ten weeks in taking all their fish, and about one month longer in making it fit to be shipped.

Which being considered, then say that such men as are sent over to plant, have twelve months provision, which will amount to one thousand and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, four pence ; these men stay in the country, and do take the benefit both of the first and last fishing season, and

all other opportunities, the fishing, continuing good, at the least seven months in the year, though not all at one time : now I hope you will grant that they are as likely to take two ships lading as the other one, which if they do, one third thereof at the same rate, will amount to two thousand six hundred and eighty pounds, the charge you are at being deducted, the profit is one thousand and nineteen pounds, six shillings, eight pence. Now tell me seriously, which is the more profitable course ?

Again consider, that in all likelihood this fish is to be taken in five months, then have you seven months more to employ your men in the country every year, about building of ships, cleaving of pipe-staves, or any other thing, and will that be worth nothing ?

Truly this I will say, send men over but with eighteen months' provision, and cattle, and corn to plant, and other necessaries, and they shall afford you thus much profit yearly, without ever putting you to more charge, if God bless them with health, and you, from losses, (and I never heard of any great loss by adventuring thither) and that you be fitted with good and understanding men to oversee the business, who is able to direct them.

CHAPTER VII.

Showeth how every Parish may be freed of their weekly payments to the Poor, by the Profits which may be fetched thence. With certain Objections against the things contained in this and the former Chapter : with Answers thereunto.

And thus have I shewed you what hopes there is of profit by plantations, yet have I shewed you no other means to raise it, but by fish and timber. I would not have you say there is nothing else in the country to make any benefit of ; for I assure you it is well known to myself, and others who have been there, that there are divers other good things there to be had ; but I do not love to speak of all at one time, but to reserve some to stop the mouths of such prating

coxcombs as will never be satisfied with any reason, but will always cavil, though to little purpose.

And methinks I hear some such people buzzing in some other objections, and bidding me stay, and not fish before the net, for there are many lets, as these. There are many ships go, that make not so good voyages as I speak of; for they are so long beaten in their passage, or on the coast, that the best of the fishing is past before they be there.

To that I answer, I speak not what every ship doth, but what some do, and all others may do, if they be in the country to take all opportunities.

2. Object. That it is not possible to make plantations so public a business, as that it should redound to the benefit of all the king's subjects. And again that there will never be so much money raised as to establish such plantations, for that most men of this age respects their own profit one hundred times more then the public good; and their hearts are so glued to the world, that they shall as soon hang them as draw anything from them, though it be never so charitable a use. And if it should be by way of commandment, it would be a grievance not to be endured.

But I would ask such men whether they be so void of charity, as that they will not do themselves good, because some others shall have some by it also? And whether they will be grieved at a man for showing of them how, by the disbursing of twenty shillings, they shall have twenty shillings a year, for seven, ten or twenty years, and perhaps for ever.

My desire is not that any should be compelled, only this I could wish that every parish would adventure so much as they pay weekly to the relief of the poor (which is no great matter) and so every shire by itself, would send over men to plant. And if after eighteen months they shall not yearly return so much profits continually as will keep their poor, and ease their purses (provided always, as I said before, that they send such men as are fit, and that the justices of every shire be careful to appoint such a man to be their captain and director as is honest, and of good understanding, and that God bless them from losses,) will I be contented to suffer death.

And yet let me tell you, that if it should please God, that

once in seven years a ship should be cast away (which is more than hath been usual, for I dare say, that for every ship that is cast away in those voyages, there is one hundred which cometh safe) yet it is but that year's profit lost, and perhaps not half.

Another objection may be this, that all men are not fishermen, and that it is not so easy a thing to take fish, as I make it.

To that I answer, that take a survey of all the men that goeth in these voyages, and there shall not be found one third of them that are merely fishermen, and no other trades.

Nay I know many ship-companies that have amongst them, house carpenters, masons, smiths, tailors, shoemakers, and such like, and indeed it is most fit that they should be such: and I saw by experience, that divers who were never at sea before this year, proved very good fishermen; but I could wish that ever a fifth part of a company be fishermen, and the rest will quickly be trained up, and made skilful.

I would to God that some one shire, or more would begin this godly and profitable course. For certainly, God hath created all for the use of man, and nothing hath he created in vain.

And if we will endure poverty in England wilfully, and suffer so good a country as this is to lie waste, I am persuaded we are guilty of a grievous sin against God, and shall never be able to answer it.

I could also wish, that the lords both spiritual and temporal, the knights and others to whom God hath given abundance of these outward things, would (for the honor of God, the comfort of the poor of our land) join together, and by a voluntary contribution raise a sum of money, and employ it this way; and that the profits might go to the maintaining of poor children, and training them up in this course, by which they may be kept from begging and stealing.

CHAPTER VIII.

Contains certain Directions for all private Persons that intend to go into New England to plant.

Next unto this I could wish, that every private man that hath a desire this way, would consider these things which I will here set down before he go too far, least he deprive himself of the profit I have shewed may be had, and be one of those that repent when it is too late, and so bring misery upon himself, and scandalize the country, as others have done.

1. That it is a country, where none can live except he either labor himself, or be able to keep others to labor for him.

2. If a man have a wife and many small children, not to come there, except for every three loiterers, he have one worker ; which if he have, he may make a shift to live, and not starve.

3. If a man have but as many good laborers as loiterers, he shall live much better there than in any place I know.

4. If all be laborers, and no children, then let him not fear, but to do more good there in seven years than in England in twenty.

5. Let no man go without eighteen months provision, so shall he take the benefit of two seasons before his provision be spent.

6. Let as many plant together as may be, for you will find that very comfortable, profitable and secure.

FINIS.

Remarks on the Early Laws of Massachusetts Bay; with the Code adopted in 1641, and called THE BODY OF LIBERTIES, now first printed. By F. C. GRAY, LL. D., A. A. S., S. H. S.

THE true history and real character of the early laws of Massachusetts have been very much misunderstood. They are in fact highly honorable to our ancestors, and evince not only their acknowledged love of liberty, but a degree of practical good sense in legislation, and a liberality of sentiment far greater, than have usually been ascribed to them; for it has been generally asserted and believed, that their first Code of Laws was deduced almost literally from the Books of Moses. This belief has given rise to no little ridicule, and however creditable to their piety it may have seemed to some in former times, it has certainly not tended to give the world in general, at the present day, a very exalted idea of their legislative wisdom. As it is extremely erroneous, it is quite time, that it should be accounted for and corrected.

The early existence and long continuance of this error is by no means surprising. In the year 1641 there was published in London a pamphlet entitled: "An Abstract of the Laws of New England as they are now established. Printed in London 1641." It consists of Ten Chapters, and its provisions are chiefly taken from the Old Testament, and are for the most part accompanied by references to the chapter and verse, on which they are severally founded.

Fourteen years afterwards the same work, but in a somewhat more complete form, and citing at length the passages of scripture referred to, was published under the following title: "An Abstract of Laws and Government, wherein as in a mirror may be seen the wisdom and perfection of the government of Christ's Kingdom, accommodable to any State or form of government in the world, that is not anti-christian or tyrannical. Collected and digested into the ensuing method by that godly, grave and judicious divine Mr. John Cotton of Boston in New England in his lifetime, and presented to the General Court of Massachusetts. And now published after his death, by William Aspinwall. Isa. 33. 22. *Jehovah is our Judge, Jehovah is our Lawgiver, Jehovah is our King, he will save us.* London, 1655."

In the preface, Aspinwall, the editor, states, that this Abstract was collected out of the scriptures by Mr. John Cotton, accommodated to the Colony of Massachusetts in New England, and commended to the General Court there; and intimates, that it would have been better for them, if they had then had the heart to receive it. In another part of the Preface, he says of it, "that being with all sweetness and amiableness of spirit tendered, but not accepted, he [Cotton] surceased to press it any further at that season."

The Collection of Documents published by Governor Hutchinson in 1769, as an Appendix to his History, contains the same work with a few very slight variations, under the name of "Abstract of the Laws of New England." Governor Hutchinson in a note mentions the edition of 1655, and refers not only to that edition, but also to a Manuscript Life of Cotton by Davenport to show, that Cotton drew up this Abstract. He adds, that it ought rather to be called a Code of Laws prepared for Massachusetts Bay; "for although when they compiled their Laws, they made this abstract their plan in general, yet they departed from it in many instances, and in some, which were very material." *

From Governor Winthrop's Journal, first printed in 1790, it appears, under date of October 1636, that "Mr. Cotton did this court, present a model of Moses his Judicials, compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further

* Hutchinson's Collections, p. 161.

consideration till the next General Court." * In the same Journal, under date of December, 1641, is the following passage. "This session continued three weeks, and established one hundred Laws, which were called the Body of Liberties. They had been composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward sometime Pastor of the Church of Ipswich: he had been a minister in England, and formerly a student and practiser in the course of the common law." †

In the fifth volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, A. D. 1798, the edition of this Abstract of 1641 is reprinted, and after it, the Preface prefixed by Aspinwall to the edition of 1655.‡ This reprint is accompanied by the conjecture, that Sir Henry Vane wrote the work, or at least assisted Cotton in it, a conjecture resting only on the ground, that he was here in 1636, intimate with Cotton, and of the same political and religious sentiments.

In Savage's Edition of Winthrop's Journal, we find the following note of the learned Editor on the appointment of a Committee in 1639 to prepare a Code of Laws. "In December, 1641, the labors of these Legislators were perfected, as this history will shew. The result was printed in London immediately after. An Abstract may be found by the curious 1 Hist. Coll. v. 171 — 192, with an account of a second edition by Aspinwall. We may be sure, that Winthrop could not be mistaken in ascribing to Ward the principal honor of the work, though Cotton has often enjoyed it. Perhaps any one of twenty in the civil or clerical line, had contributed as much as Cotton, though his name would carry the greatest weight."§

In balancing these authorities, the chief weight must be given to those of Winthrop and of Aspinwall, not only as contemporaries, but because they had such means of information, that it is hardly possible they should be mistaken. Governor Winthrop's position is well known. William Aspinwall was among the eminent men of the Colony in that day. He came out with Winthrop and was deacon of the Church in Boston, under the pastoral care of Wilson and Cotton from its foundation, till the two colleagues differing in the Antinomian controversy, he joined with Cotton and

* 1 Wint. J. p. 202. † 2 Wint. J. 55. ‡ 1 Hist. Col. v. 171. § 1 Wint. J. 322.

went so far beyond him, that in the year 1637, he was disfranchised and expelled from the General Court, of which he had been chosen a member for Boston. He then went, with the rest of Mrs. Hutchinson's most zealous adherents, to Providence; but returned to Boston in 1642, and was, on submission, reconciled both to the Church and to the Government. At the time of his publishing the Abstract, he seems to have been in England.

Now Aspinwall's statement, that it was drawn up by Cotton, and was not accepted by the General Court coincides perfectly with what we are told by Winthrop; that Cotton made and presented a model, but that the code actually adopted and called the Body of Liberties was composed by Ward. The only contemporaneous evidence, that this Abstract or anything like it, was ever in fact established, is the mere title of the London edition of 1641. But we know not by whom this title was prefixed to it. Probably by the publisher there. Certainly not by any person in New England, since no one here could be ignorant, that there were no laws common to all New England, but that each of the Colonies then existing in it was entirely independent of the others and unconnected with them; and no one residing here or well acquainted with our condition could have given to the Laws of Massachusetts Bay the title of the Laws of New England. The Abstract may have found its way to England at any time after 1636, and when it was learned there in 1641, that a Code of Laws had been adopted in New England, this title may not unnaturally have been put before it. However this may be, it was certainly put there by one unacquainted with our condition, and is therefore of no weight against the concurrent and positive testimony of Winthrop and Aspinwall. It should be observed, that it does not purport to be a copy of the Laws, but only an Abstract of them.

Governor Hutchinson's opinion, that this Abstract, though differing in some instances very materially from the laws first established, was yet the general plan or basis of them, is also untenable. For in his own collection, only seventeen pages after this, is printed the Declaration of the General Court holden at Boston November 4th, 1646, concerning the Remonstrance of Dr. Child and others, which

Declaration contains a parallel between the provisions of Magna Charta and other laws of England, on the one hand, and the "Fundamentals of Massachusetts," on the other.* In this they set forth forty-four fundamental propositions, annexing to each the authorities for it. Six times they refer for authority to their Charter, — seven times to Custom, — eight times to laws of specified dates, — once to the Bible, — and twenty-seven times to the "Liberties," citing each by its appropriate number. Now the provisions thus cited by them from the Body of Liberties, as their fundamental laws, are not to be found, in form or in substance, in this Abstract. How can this then have been the basis of their Code?

As to the conjecture, that Vane had a hand in drawing it up, this seems purely gratuitous; for Cotton was perfectly competent to it, and the work contains nothing that might not just as naturally fall from his pen as from that of Vane, or that can lead us to distrust in the least the contemporaneous authorities on this point, which all concur in ascribing it to Cotton and to him alone.

Being long since satisfied, for the reasons above stated, that the Abstract so repeatedly printed was not the Code established in 1641, nor the substance of it, I carefully examined the ancient records of the Colony, and soon ascertained, that this Code had not been printed, and that no copy of it existed among those Records. The researches, in which I was then engaged, led me next to seek for the first printed edition of the Laws, published in 1649; but I have never been able to find it. During this pursuit, however, it so chanced, that one day, more than twenty years ago, I took up from a corner in the old Athenæum, a folio volume containing the Colony Laws, as published in 1672; an edition not of any great rarity. But bound up with it was a manuscript of about sixty pages in the hand-writing of that day, which is not easily read. This volume appeared to have belonged to Elisha Hutchinson, who was the grandfather of Governor Hutchinson, and who died in 1717 at the age of 77. On examining the manuscript carefully, I found it to contain a copy of the Colonial Charter of 1629,

* Hutch. Col. 196.

together with ten other valuable documents relating to our early history, one of which was "A COPPIE OF THE LIBERTIES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY IN NEW ENGLAND."

Its genuineness was soon placed beyond question. All the documents accompanying it are undoubtedly genuine, and may now be found printed, with one exception, at full length, in our collections of public documents. It is divided into one hundred distinct articles, separated from each other by strong black lines; and although the introductory and concluding paragraphs are not numbered as laws, so that the highest number is ninety-eight, whereas Winthrop says the Body of Liberties contained a hundred laws, yet this is but an instance of that substantial agreement with circumstantial variation, which is one of the strongest evidences of truth. On comparing these numbers with the citations from the Liberties made in support of the fundamental laws by the General Court in 1646, it was found that they agree, and that the articles in this manuscript are numbered in the same manner as in the official copy then used by them. These liberties too are, almost without exception, incorporated, and often in the same words, into the printed Laws of the Colony, which are entitled "Laws and Liberties." Three complete editions of these were published by authority, viz. in 1649, in 1660 and in 1672. In these the laws were not inserted in the order of their dates, as in modern times; but all existing provisions of law were consolidated, and classed under appropriate titles, arranged in alphabetical order. So that the complete codification of the Statute Law is no new thing under the sun, but was practised by the Colonists of Massachusetts from the beginning. In this manuscript we find in the margin, opposite most of the Liberties, the number of a page and sometimes of a section. These are references to the page and section of the edition of 1672, where the same provision may be found.

This then is beyond all doubt the Body of Liberties composed by Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, author of the Simple Cobbler of Agawam, and adopted by the Colony of Massachusetts in 1641; the first Code of Laws established in New England.

On comparing it with the Abstract drawn up by Cotton in 1636, it will be seen that it bears no resemblance to it either in form or in substance, excepting, that in the Article entitled Capital Laws, each clause is supported by texts from the Old Testament. Many of the Puritans of that day hesitated to inflict capital punishment without warrant of scripture; and accordingly even the crime of rape was not made capital till the next year, 1642.* But as to all other offences, which they thought worthy of death, there was no difficulty in finding authority in the Pentateuch for its infliction, and these texts were cited to satisfy all scruples.

But while the Body of Liberties made no crime capital, which was not so by the Law of Moses, it did not go the length of the Abstract, and inflict the punishment of death in every case where it was inflicted by that Law; as for Heresy, profaning the Lord's day, and reviling of Magistrates, for which last the notable case of Shimei, in the second Chapter of the first Book of Kings, is quoted as authority. Neither does the Book of Liberties cite scripture except in relation to punishments, whereas in the Abstract such citation is carried to an almost ludicrous extent. As where it is provided, that the Governor and in his absence the Deputy Governor shall have power to send out warrants for calling of the General Court, and authority for this provision is gravely cited from Joshua xxiv. 1. *And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem,*" &c. And again "Every Court shall have certain officers, as a Secretary to enroll all the acts of the Court. 1 Kings, iv. 3. *Elihoreph and Ahiah the sons of Shisha scribes; Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud recorder.*"

These examples are sufficient to show the character of the Abstract drawn up by John Cotton. But the smile, they may excite, should not diminish our veneration for that eminent and holy man, and those who concurred with him

* The provisions of the Abstract on this subject strikingly exhibit the manner, in which those good men found all things in the scripture. This crime committed against a woman married or espoused was considered as adultery or quasi adultery, and as such, was a capital offence. But committed against a maiden not contracted, it was not to be punished with death, but 1. With fine or penalty to the father of the maid. 2. With marriage of the maid, if she and her father consent. 3. With corporal punishment of stripes, "for this wrong is a real slander." For the whimsical ground of this last whimsical position (deemed necessary in order to justify the punishment of stripes in this case) I must refer to the original.

in this matter. Our ancestors were of the strictest sect of the Puritans. Their zeal for their peculiar tenets and forms, animated by controversy, and exasperated by cruel persecutions, had driven them from the comforts of the civilized world into the wilderness, and it is not surprising, that it should have almost eaten them up. Their sufferings under the Hierarchy of England might naturally lead them to renounce all authority, but that of the scriptures, and to seek in them the only rules of civil government, as well as of moral and religious duty. No wonder, that the professional champions of those tenets and forms should possess very great authority; and that possessing it, they should not refrain from its exercise, or from seeking to extend it, by providing, that the scriptures, of which they were themselves the chief interpreters, should be the only Law of the Land. If the love of power inherent in our nature had its influence on them in this, they were no doubt entirely unconscious of it, and acted from the sincere conviction, that the scheme they proposed was the most conducive to the honor of God and to the welfare of Men. It must be admitted also, that the scriptures were not unfrequently appealed to by the Legislature itself in a manner, which at the present day would be deemed altogether extravagant; and hence no doubt the erroneous opinion here traced to its origin, has found more ready credence.

John Eliot, the devoted Apostle to the Indians, also prepared a frame of government, deduced entirely from the Scriptures, for the benefit of his Indian converts, and set it up among them.* This bears not the slightest resemblance to the Abstract drawn by Cotton from the same source; but it was regarded by its Author as the only fit model for the government of any community of Christians; and was published in London in 1654, with a Preface by him recommending it to the adoption of the People of England, under the title of the Christian Commonwealth. After the restoration of Charles II., the Legislature of Massachusetts, suspected and frowned on, by the English Government, deemed it expedient to order, that this work should be totally suppressed, and required an acknowledgment from Eliot, in

* III. Hist. Coll. iv. 271.

which he admits the government of England by King, Lords and Commons, to be lawful. No printed copy of the work now exists in any of our Libraries here. But in that of the Historical Society there is a transcript of it.

But though Eliot did set up his scheme among the Indians, the idea hitherto prevalent that Cotton's Abstract was adopted by the Colonists does them great injustice. The Body of Liberties really established by them, exhibits throughout the hand of the practised lawyer, familiar with the principles and the securities of English Liberty; and although it retains some strong traces of the times, is in the main, far in advance of them, and in several respects in advance of the Common Law of England at this day.* It shows that our Ancestors, instead of deducing all their laws from the Books of Moses, established at the outset a code of fundamental principles, which, taken as a whole, for wisdom, equity, adaptation to the wants of their community, and a liberality of sentiment superior to the age in which it was written, may fearlessly challenge a comparison with any similar production, from Magna Charta itself to the latest Bill of Rights, that has been put forth in Europe or America.

Those familiar with the Administration of the Laws in Massachusetts will here find, as in Liberty 14, and others, that some established practices which have been heretofore supposed to rest only on ancient custom, are in reality founded on express provisions of this venerable Code.

It may be useful to those engaged in such researches, and not uninteresting to others, as throwing light on the character of the colonists, to trace the history of our Colonial Code from the Charter to the edition of 1660, the earliest, of which any copy is now known to be extant. The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England were incorporated, like the African, East India and other

* Witness the 80th Liberty, providing that no man shall strike his wife; whereas the Common Law of England authorizes the infliction of chastisement on a wife, with a reasonable instrument. There is an anecdote, that Judge Buller, charging the Jury in such a case, said to them: "Without undertaking to define exactly what a reasonable instrument is, I hold, gentlemen of the jury, that a stick no bigger than my thumb comes clearly within that description;" and that a Committee of Ladies waited on him the next day, to beg that they might be favored with the exact dimensions of his Lordship's thumb.

See also Liberties 8, 9, 10, 11, 25, and several others, for provisions in advance of the age.

old English companies, for the purpose of carrying on trade, as well as of establishing a Plantation or Colony; and in the outset, held, like them, all their meetings in London. The Charter, dated March 4th, 1629, provided that the freemen or members of the company should choose from their own number a Governor, Deputy Governor and eighteen Assistants, who should hold, monthly, or oftener if they saw fit, a meeting called the COURT OF ASSISTANTS, "to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the general affairs of the Colony and the plantation thereof, and the government of the people there," — "and for the handling, ordering and dispatching of all such business and occurrents as shall from time to time happen touching or concerning the said Company or plantation."

Four times a year a great and solemn Assembly of the Governor, Deputy Governor, and such Assistants and Freemen, as should choose to attend, was to be holden, called the Great and GENERAL COURT of the Company, the Governor or Deputy Governor and seven Assistants being necessary to form a quorum, at which Court they might choose other persons to be free of said Company; — constitute and appoint such officers as they should see fit; — and make laws and ordinances, not repugnant to the Laws of England, for the welfare of the Company, and for the government of the plantation and the people inhabiting it; and for "the imposition of lawful fines, mulcts, imprisonments, or other lawful correction according to the course of other Corporations in this our realm of England." The Governor and Assistants were to be elected annually at the General Court on the last Wednesday in Easter term.

The Company having, before the date of the Charter, purchased the territory, over which it extends, from the Plymouth Company in England, had already in 1628 sent out a number of settlers, who were planted in Salem. The great object of the Colonists was to establish their own forms of Church government and discipline, in a place, where they might live under them unmolested. A number of substantial and respectable gentlemen being willing to settle permanently in the new plantation, provided the patent and government should be legally transferred and be established to remain with them and others inhabiting it,

the Company, on the motion of Matthew Cradock, the first Governor in England, agreed that it should be thus transferred; and in consequence of this arrangement, John Winthrop and others arrived in New England with the Charter in 1630.

In the small beginnings of the Colony, all business, excepting the election of officers and freemen, appears to have been transacted indifferently in the General Court or the Court of Assistants. But the people early showed, that they were very jealous of their liberties. It was at first intended to make Newtown, since called Cambridge, the capital of the colony, and it was determined to fortify it against the Indians, at the common expense. The amount assessed on Watertown by the Court of Assistants was £8, and a warrant was issued for levying it. Whereupon "the Pastor, Elder, &c., assembled the people, and delivered their opinions, that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage." The Governor and Assistants summoned the Pastor, &c. before them, and argued with them, that this government was not like that of a Mayor and Aldermen, but like a Parliament, and the Assistants were the Representatives of the freemen, and so finally persuaded them to submit at that time to the assessment. The Watertown people however were clearly right in their objection, for although the Charter makes no mention of levying taxes, yet the assessment of a tax is a law, and the General Court only had the power to make laws. This occurred in February 1632.* In May following two deputies were chosen to attend from each town at the next Court, and "advise with the Governor and Assistants about the raising of a public stock, so as what they should agree upon, should bind all."† In *Col. Rec.* May 9, 1632.

In the year 1634, there were eight towns in the Colony and under date of April 1 in that year, we find the following entry in Winthrop's Journal.

"Notice being sent out of the General Court to be held the 14th day of the third month called May, the freemen deputed two of each town to meet and consider of such

* 1 Wint. J. 70.

† 1 Wint. J. 76.

matters as they were to take order in at the same General Court ; who having met, desired a sight of the patent, and conceiving thereby that all their laws should be made at the General Court, repaired to the Governor to advise with him about it, and about the abrogating of some orders formerly made, as for killing of swine in corn, &c.* He told them, that when the patent was granted, the number of freemen was supposed to be (as in like corporations) so few, as they might well join in making laws ; but now they were grown to so great a body, as it was not possible for them to make or execute laws, but they must choose others for that purpose : and that howsoever it would be necessary hereafter to have a select company to intend that work, yet for the present they were not furnished with a sufficient number of men qualified for that business, neither could the company bear the loss of time of so many as must intend it. Yet this they might do at present, viz. they might at the General Court make an order, that once in the year, a certain number should be appointed (upon summons from the Governor) to revise all laws, &c. and to reform what they found amiss therein ; but not to make any new laws, but prefer their grievances to the Court of Assistants ; and that no assessment should be laid upon the country without the consent of such a committee, nor any lands disposed of." 1 *Winthrop*, 128.

This seems not to have been quite satisfactory, for among the very first acts of the General Court on the 14th of May was the following.

" It is agreed, that none but the General Court hath power to choose and admit freemen ; — That none but the General Court hath power to make and establish laws, nor to elect and appoint officers as Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, Treasurer, Secretary, Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns or any of like moment, or to remove such upon misdemeanor, as also to set out the powers and duties of the said officers ; — That none but the General Court hath power to

* There are numerous orders in relation to this subject. The last preceding this date is thus entered on the record, July 2, 1633. "It is ordered, that it shall be lawful for any man to kill any swine, that comes into his corn ; the party, that owns the swine is to have them being killed, and allow recompense for the damage they do, &c."

raise money and taxes and to dispose of lands viz. to give and confirm proprieties." 1 *Col. Rec.* 115.

At the beginning of the record of the proceedings of this General Court we find entered not only the names of the Governor, Deputy Governor and the Assistants present, as previously ; but also those of twenty-four freemen, three from each town, in the same manner as the names of the Deputies were subsequently entered. The natural conjecture is that they were in fact deputed by their fellow townsmen to attend the Court, probably in consequence of a recommendation to that effect, from the deputation of two from each town, mentioned by Winthrop ; and as no specified number of freemen was necessary to a quorum, whatever number should actually attend would constitute with the Governor or Deputy and seven Assistants a lawful assembly. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact, that one of their first proceedings was to provide for a similar course in future.

"It was further ordered, that it shall be lawful for the freemen of every plantation to choose two or three of each town, before every General Court, to confer of and prepare such public business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next General Court. And that such persons as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen of [the] several plantations, to deal in their behalf in the public affairs of the Commonwealth, shall have the full power and voice of all the said freemen derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, &c. and to deal in all other affairs of the Commonwealth, wherein the freemen have to do, the matter of election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own voice." 1 *Col. Rec.* 115.

The first part of this order for a meeting before the General Court seems not to have been generally complied with. Though I find mention of a convention of delegates from each town, in Salem in 1643, to nominate candidates for office at the ensuing election, a mode of proceeding revived in our own day. The second clause, providing for the election of deputies to the General Court, has ever since been acted on. At first they were chosen for each General Court ; afterwards, from 1639 to 1640 they were chosen semiannually, and in 1642 and ever since that time have been elected once a year.

Such was the origin of Representative government in New England. It has been seen that some orders for killing swine in corn were the immediate occasion of its establishment; and it is somewhat remarkable, that a few years afterwards, a lawsuit about a stray sow, found in Boston in 1636, of which proceeding a minute account is given by Winthrop, ultimately led to the division of the Legislature into two separate branches. Surely the animal, whose wanderings have thus led to the establishment of two of the great securities of Liberty among us, may claim at least as honorable mention in history as has been awarded to the geese of the Capitol.

The following extracts from the Colony Records, and Winthrop's Journal need little comment. Any discrepancy of dates may be accounted for by considering, that the only date in the Records is the first day of the session; and that in citing from Winthrop a paragraph not dated, I refer it to the last preceding date. Winthrop's Journal too is not kept strictly in order of time. After giving an account, for instance, of the session in May 1642, he mentions occurrences which took place at that of December 1641, and so in other cases.

"6th of 3d month (May) 1635. The deputies having conceived great danger to our state in regard that our magistrates, for want of positive laws, in many cases, might proceed according to their discretions, it was agreed, that some men should be appointed to frame a body of grounds of laws, in resemblance to a Magna Charta, which being allowed by some of the ministers and the general court, should be received for fundamental laws. 1 *Wint. J.* 160.

"6th 3d month 1635. The Governor, [John Haynes] the Deputy Governor, [Richard Bellingham] John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley, Esquires, are deputed by the Court to make a draught of such laws, as they shall judge useful for the well ordering of this Plantation, and to present the same to the Court. 1 *Col. Rec.* 150.

"25 of 3d month (May) 1636. The Governor, [Henry Vane] the Deputy Governor, [John Winthrop] Thomas Dudley, John Haynes, Richard Bellingham, Esquires, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Peters and Mr. Shepherd are entreated to make a draught of laws agreeable to the word of God, which may

be the Fundamentals of this Commonwealth, and to present the same to the next General Court, and it is ordered that in the mean time the magistrates and their associates shall proceed in the Courts to hear and determine all causes, according to the laws now established, and where there is no law, then as near the laws of God as they can." 1 *Col. Rec.* 176.

Winthrop makes no mention of this appointment, and there is no evidence, either in his Journal or in the Records, that anything was done by the Committee appointed the preceding year. Of the present the result was this.

"8 bre. 25, 1636. Mr. Cotton being requested by the General Court with some other ministers to assist some of the magistrates in compiling a body of fundamental laws, did, this Court, present a copy of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further consideration till the next General Court." 1 *Wint. J.* 202.

I find nothing said of this in the Records.

"1 month, 1637. [i. e. March 1638.] At this Court, a committee was appointed of some magistrates, some ministers, and some others, to compile a body of fundamental laws." 1 *Wint. J.* 257.

"12th day of 1st month, 1637-8. For the well ordering of these Plantations now in the beginning thereof; it having been found by the little time of experience we have here had, that the want of written laws hath put the courts into many doubts and much trouble in many particular cases, this Court hath therefore ordered, that the freemen of every town (or some part thereof chosen by the rest) within this jurisdiction, shall assemble together in their several towns, and collect the heads of such necessary and fundamental laws, as may be suitable to the times and places, where God in his providence hath cast us, and the heads of such laws to deliver in writing to the Governor for the time being before the 5th day of the 4th month called June next, to the intent that the same Governor [John Winthrop] together with the rest of the standing council and Richard Bellingham Esquire, Mr. Bulkeley, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Peters and Mr. Shepherd, elders of several churches, Mr. Nathaniel Ward, Mr. William Spencer, and Mr. William Hawthorne, or the major part, may upon the survey of such heads of laws,

make a compendious abridgement of the same by the General Court in Autumn next, adding yet to the same or detracting therefrom what in their wisdom shall seem meet, that so the whole work being perfected to the best of their skill, it may be presented to the General Court for confirmation or rejection as the Court shall adjudge. And it is also ordered, that the said persons shall survey all the orders already made, and reduce them into as few heads as they may, and present them unto the General Court for approbation or refusal as aforesaid." 1 *Col. Rec.* 217.

The next entry I find on this subject is in 1639. And here we learn from Winthrop how it happened, that there should have been so many committees, and never but one report. The committees were appointed to satisfy the importunities of the people, but "most of the Magistrates and some of the Elders were not forward in the matter," and knew well how to retard it.

"9th month, 1639. The people had long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe, while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates. Divers attempts had been made at former courts, and the matter referred to some of the magistrates and some of the elders; but still it came to no effect; for, being committed to the care of many, whatsoever was done by some, was still disliked or neglected by others. At last it was referred to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Nathaniel Warde, &c., and each of them framed a model, which were presented to this General Court, and by them committed to the Governor and Deputy and some others, to consider of, and so prepare it for the Court in the third month next. Two great reasons there were, which caused most of the magistrates and some of the elders not to be very forward in this matter. One was, want of sufficient experience of the nature and disposition of the people, considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive, that such laws would be fittest for us, which should arise *pro re nata* upon occasions &c. and so the laws of England and other states grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called customs, *consuetudines*. 2. For that it would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provide, we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of

England, and that we were assured we must do. But to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression ; as in our church discipline, and in matters of marriage, to make a law that marriages shall not be solemnized by ministers, is repugnant to the laws of England ; but to bring it to a custom by practice for the magistrates to perform it, is no law made repugnant, &c. At length (to satisfy the people) it proceeded, and the two models were digested with divers alterations and additions, and abbreviated and sent to every town, (12) to be considered of first by the magistrates and elders, and then to be published by the constables to all the people, that if any man should think fit, that any thing therein ought to be altered, he might acquaint some of the deputies therewith against the next Court." 1 *Wint. J.* 322.

We are not to understand that Cotton and Ward were on the same committee, for Cotton's appointment was in 1636, and he first presented his model, as Winthrop himself informs us, in that year, though it may have been presented at this Court again. Ward was only on the committee of 1638, of which Cotton was not a member.

"5th day of 9th month, 1639. It is ordered that the Governor, [J. Winthrop] Deputy Governor, [Thomas Dudley] Treasurer and Mr. Stoughton or any three of them, with two or more of the deputies of Boston, Charlestown or Roxbury, shall peruse all those models which have been or shall be further presented to this Court or themselves concerning a form of government and laws to be established, and shall draw them up into one body, altering, adding or omitting what they shall think fit, and shall take order, that the same shall be copied out and sent to the several towns, that the elders of the churches and freemen may consider of them against the next General Court, and the charges to be defrayed by the Treasurer. 1 *Col. Rec.* 266.

"13th of 3d month, 1640. Whereas a Breviate of Laws was formerly sent forth to be considered by the elders of the churches and other freemen of this Commonwealth, it is now desired, that they will endeavour to ripen their thoughts and counsels about the same by the general court in the next 8th month." 1 *Col. Rec.* 278.

Well done. Truly the magistrates were "not forward in

the matter." Never were the demands of a free people eluded by their public servants with more of the wisdom or of the contortions of the serpent. Of course from no bad motive. But appointing committee after committee to do nothing, — ordering every town to frame a set of heads of laws to be considered, — directing that all the various models, that had been or should be presented, should be diligently perused and digested, as if there were a hundred of them, when we know from Winthrop, that there were only two, — when driven at last to take one of them, ordering it to be sent to all the towns for scrutiny and objection, — and to crown all, after having evaded the urgent importunities of the people for six years, gravely desiring them to take further time to ripen their thoughts ; — how unreasonable it is to suspect such men, of being so totally destitute of worldly wisdom, as to undertake to carry on their government solely by the Laws of Moses ?

The next entry I find touching the laws is the following, which I insert, though it appears not to refer to the proposed code, but to laws previously adopted ; and one object of it may have been to amuse the people by appearing to do something about the Laws.

"2d of the 4th month, [June] 1641. The Governor [Richard Bellingham] is appointed to peruse all the laws, and take notice what may be fit to be repealed, what to be rectified, what to stand, and make return to the next General Court. 1 *Col. Rec.* 300.

"7th of 8th month, [October] 1641. The Governor [Bellingham] and Mr. Hawthorne were desired to speak to Mr. Ward for a Copy of the Liberties and of the Capital laws to be transcribed and sent to the several towns." 1 *Col. Rec.* 317.

Subsequently at the same session is the following entry.

"Mr. Deputy Endicot, Mr. Downing and Mr. Hawthorne are authorized to get nineteen Copies of the Laws, Liberties and the forms of oaths transcribed and subscribed by their several hands, and none to be authentic but such as they subscribed, and to be paid for by the Constable of each Town, ten shillings a piece for each copy, and to be prepared within six weeks." 1 *Col. Rec.* 321.

None of these proceedings are noticed by Winthrop ; but

in his account of the proceedings of the General Court held in the 10th month, [December] 1641, he says, —

“This session continued three weeks and established one hundred laws, which were called the Body of Liberties. They had been composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward (some-time pastor of the church of Ipswich: he had been a minister in England and formerly a student and practiser in the course of the common law) and had been revised and altered by the Court and sent forth into every town to be further considered of, and now again in this Court, they were revised, amended and presented, and so established for three years, by that experience to have them fully amended and established to be perpetual.” 2 *Wint. J.* 55.

The Colony Records from October 1641 to May 1642 are lost. They belonged to the beginning of the second volume, which is mutilated. The subject is not afterward mentioned by Winthrop, so that all the subsequent extracts are from the Records. In these it appears, that at a court held on the 18th of the 3d month, 1642, three laws for punishing rape with death were adopted, and the Capital laws were ordered to be printed. A copy of this publication containing the Capital laws and the freeman's oath may be found in II. Hist. Coll. iv. 112. It has been seen that the Body of Liberties was established for three years, before the expiration of which time, there is the following entry, but no subsequent mention of any doings of the Committees.

“7th of 1st month, [March] 1643–4. It is ordered that the Governor, [John Winthrop] Mr. Dudley and Mr. Hibbens, these or any two of them shall be a committee to consider of the Body of Liberties, against the next General Court what is fit to be repealed or allowed, and present the same to the next Court. Also the Magistrates residing at Ipswich or any two of them are appointed a Committee for the same purpose, that so the Court conferring both together may more easily determine what to settle about the same.

“It is ordered that Richard Bellingham Esq. should finish that, which was formerly committed to him about the perusing of the Book of laws, &c. and to present the same to the next Court.” 2 *Col. Rec.* p. 47.

The fact, that almost all the Articles in the Body of Liberties are in substance contained in every subsequent Digest

of the Colony Laws, shows, that the people were not dissatisfied with its provisions. But they still desired a more minute and complete Code to include all the laws and orders of general obligation. It will be seen, that after some further hesitation and delay, the magistrates yielded more fully to their wishes, and set themselves heartily to the work. It is possible, that as the Royal cause declined in England, and that of the Parliament prevailed, they were less apprehensive of the consequences of publishing laws repugnant to those of England, in violation of their charter from the King ; relying on the favor and indulgence of the dominant party there.

At the General Court in 5th month, [July] 1645, a committee was appointed for the county of Suffolk, of which Governor Winthrop and Mr. Cotton were members, "to draw up a body of laws and to present them to the consideration of the next General Court ;" and another Committee for Middlesex, and a third for Essex, with similar powers. Mr. Bellingham and Mr. Ward were members of the last. *2 Col. Rec.* 85.

At the next Court 1st, 8th month, October, 1645, the committees appointed at the last session to meet in every shire, to consult together and to return at this Court a "result of their thoughts, that this Court might proceed thereupon to satisfy the expectation of the country in establishing a body of laws," are desired to hold their first meeting on or before the 12th of November for the accomplishment of the end so desired, and to make their return at the next sitting of the General Court. *2 Col. Rec.* 102.

On the 15th of the 3d month, 1646, the Court thankfully accepts of the labors of the several Committees, and "being very unwilling such precious labors should fall to the ground without that good success as is generally hoped for," appoints a Committee, including Bellingham and Ward, to cause the returns to be transcribed, so that each Committee may see the other's labors ; and the same Committee is to meet on or before the 10th of August and on perusing the labors of all the others, "with the abbreviation of the laws in force, which Mr. Bellingham took great store of pains and to good purpose in," upon the whole to make return at the next session, "at which time the Court intends, by the favor

and blessing of God, to proceed to the establishing of so many of them, as shall be thought most fit for a body of laws amongst us." 2 *Col Rec.* 133.

"4 day 9 month, [November] 1646. The Court being deeply sensible of the earnest expectation of the Country in general for this Court's completing of a body of Laws for the better and more orderly wielding all the affairs of this Commonwealth; willing also to their utmost to answer their honest and hearty desires therein, unexpectedly prevented by multitude of other pressing occasions, think fit and necessary that this Court make choice of two or three of our honored Magistrates, with as many of the Deputies to peruse and examine, compare, transcribe, and compose in good order, all the liberties, laws and orders extant with us; and further to peruse and perfect all such others as are drawn up, and to present such of them as they find necessary for us, as also to suggest what they deem needful to be added, as also to consider and contrive some good method and order, with titles and tables for compiling the whole; so as we may have ready recourse to any of them, upon all occasions, whereby we may manifest our utter disaffection to arbitrary Government and so all relations be safely and sweetly directed and protected in all their just rights and privileges; desiring thereby to make way for printing our Laws for more public and profitable use of us and our successors. Our honored Governor, [J. Winthrop] Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Hibbens, Mr. Hill and Mr. Duncan as a Committee for the business abovementioned, or any three of them meeting, the others having notice thereof, shall be sufficient to carry on the work." 2 *Col. Rec.* 147.

"26th 3d month, 1647. The Court understanding that the Committee for perfecting the laws appointed by the last General Court, through streights of time and other things intervening have not attained what they expected, and on all hands so much desired touching a body of laws, think meet and necessary that our honored Governor, [J. Winthrop] Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Hibbens, the Auditor General and Mr. Hills be chosen as a Committee of this Court to do the same, according to the aforesaid order, against the next sessions in the 8th month or the next General Court." 2 *Col. Rec.* 170.

At the Court on the 27th of the 8th month, 1647, is the

following entry. "The laws being to be put in print, it is meet, that they should be conveniently penned, therefore it is desired, that the Committee for drawing up the laws will be careful therein. And to that purpose, they have liberty to make some change of form to put in apt words as occasion shall require, provided the sense and meaning in any law or part thereof be not changed." 2 *Col. Rec.* 181.

Subsequently at the same Court is the following.

"The laws now being in a manner agreed upon, and the Court drawing to an end, it is time to take order: 1. How all alteration of former laws may be without mistaking compared and fair written: 2d. That all old laws not altered be also written in the same copy: 3dly. That there be a Committee chosen for this business, to be made ready against the first day of the first month next, so as the Court of Assistants, if they see cause may advise for a General Court to prepare them for the press: 4thly. That there be large margins left at both sides of the leaf, and the heads of each law written on the two outsides thereof, and upon the other margent any references and scriptures or the like, and that these be written copywise." 2 *Col. Rec.* 187.

"On the 5th of the first month, 1648. The Court doth desire that Mr. Rawson and Mr. Hill compare the amendments of the Books of laws passed, and make them as one, and one of them to remain in the hands of the Committee for the speedy committing of them to the press, and the other to remain in the hands of the Secretary sealed up till the next Court." 2 *Col. Rec.* 196.

"10th of 3d month, 1648. It is ordered, the copy of the laws in the two Rowles, which were by order of Court sealed up, with intent, that if any question should arise about the copy now at the press, it might be examined by this, whereby the faithfulness of the Committee might be tried, and that the other copy now remaining with Mr. Hill should forthwith be sent for the use of the Court."* 2 *Col. Rec.* 201.

"17th of 8th month, 1649. The Court finding by experience the great benefit that doth redound to the country by

* There seems something wanting here to complete the sense, but so stands the record.

putting of the law in print, do conceive it very requisite that those laws also, which have passed the consent of the General Court since the books were imprinting or printed should be forthwith committed to the press." 2 *Col. Rec.* 245.

In June 1654 it appears, that certain laws were printed, in October 1656 the laws of the two preceding years were printed, in May 1657 all laws not then already printed were ordered to be so: and in 1658 we find provision made for a new Digest.

"19 May, 1658. It is ordered that Major General Daniel Dennison diligently peruse, examine and weigh every law and compare them with others of like nature, and such as are clear, plain and good, free from any just exception to stand without any animadversion as approved; such as are repealed or fit to be repealed to be so marked and the reasons given, such as are obscure, contradictory or seeming so, to be rectified and the emendations prepared. Where there is two or more laws about one and the same thing, to prepare a draught of one law, that may comprehend the same; to make a plain and easy table, and to prepare what else may present in the perusing of them to be necessary and useful and make return at the next session of this Court." 3 *Col. Rec.* 281.

At the next session, 19 October, 1658. It is ordered, "that the Book of Laws, as they have been revised and corrected and put into form by order of this Court, together with the alterations and additions hereunder expressed, shall forthwith be printed, and be in force in one month after the same, and that there shall be a perfect table made thereunto, what remains to be done to be prepared for the press by our honored Major General:" Then follows a list of amendments not important, and it is ordered, "that the preface to the old law book with such alterations as shall be judged meet by the Governor [John Endicott] and Major General be added thereunto," and Mr. Danforth is appointed to oversee the impression. 3 *Col. Rec.* 291.

On the 30th of May, 1660. "For the more equal distribution of the Law Books when they shall be printed," it is ordered that the Treasurer after supplying certain officers mentioned, shall distribute the residue among the towns in proportion to their taxes, the towns to pay for them at such

rate, that no charge shall be put upon the country for the same. Mr. Danforth is also directed to make an index with all convenient speed, so that the work may no longer be delayed. 3 *Col. Rec.* 341.

The first order at the General Court 16th October, 1660, is, that the last impression of the laws shall be of force after the expiration of thirty days from this date and "in the mean time the old books stand good and be attended to as before." 3 *Col. Rec.* 350.

A perfect copy of this edition is in the Library at the State House, and one wanting only the title page and part of the preface in the Dane Law College at Cambridge.

The Connecticut Code of laws, adopted in 1650, and first printed a few years ago, is digested in the same form under alphabetical heads, and a large portion of its provisions may be found in our Code of 1660, generally in the same words. No doubt it was still more like our Code of 1649, if not a copy of it. For in many cases where it differs from our Code of 1660, we have still the means of showing, that it agrees exactly with our laws as existing in 1649; and that it is our own Code of 1660, which varies from them. The fifteen Capital laws of the Connecticut Code are all found in ours of 1660, with the same references to the scriptures, and in the same words, excepting that the former contains only the first clause of our law against treason, and that there are six other variations of phraseology not affecting the sense. In five of these six cases, the Connecticut Code agrees word for word with the capital laws printed by authority in Massachusetts in 1642: and in the sixth case the difference is only the omission of the word "surely" in the phrase "shall surely be put to death."

The first law establishing public schools in America was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts at its session on the 27th of 8th month [October] 1647, and its preamble is frequently cited as characteristic of our ancestors, and highly honorable to them. Now it so happens, that this is one of the few laws entered at length on the Records, and the preamble there begins thus: "It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the scripture," &c. This preamble and the whole law are printed in the Connecticut Code of 1650 word for word as they

stand on the Records of Massachusetts in 1647. But in our own edition of 1660 the words "that ould deluder" are omitted, appearing probably to General Dennison, by whom this last code was prepared for publication, to be somewhat ludicrous.

While writing these remarks, I learn, that the discovery of the Body of Liberties may have an important bearing on lawsuits now pending and involving the title to a great amount of property in this City. It seems, that several valuable estates are holden under a grant made in 1641, in which they are bounded on "high water mark." The argument is, that if the ancient law annexing the flats to the adjacent upland then existed, the flats were already the property of the grantor, and would not pass by the deed; but if it was enacted afterwards, it gave them to the grantee or those claiming under him. Now in the printed Code of 1660 the section containing this provision, contains also others relating to free fishing, fowling, &c., and at the end of it are placed the dates "1641, 1647," indicating that it consists of laws passed in those two years digested into one section for publication, as we have seen was the usage. It has commonly been called the Ordinance of 1641, and no one could tell, which of its provisions were passed in the one year and which in the other, without knowing the laws of one of those years. But with the Code of 1641 before us, we know what portion is of that year; and of course, that the residue, including the provision in question, is of 1647.

In printing the Body of Liberties, the spelling of the original will be adhered to: but signs and abbreviations printed at length.

A COPPIE OF THE LIBERTIES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
COLLONIE IN NEW ENGLAND.

* The free fruition of such liberties Immunities and privileges as humanitie, Civilitie, and Christianitie call for as due to every man in his place and proportion without impeachment and Infringement hath ever bene and ever will be the tranquillitie and Stabilitie of Churches and Commonwealths. And the deniall or deprivall thereof, the disturbance if not the ruine of both.

We hould it therefore our dutie and safetie whilst we are about the further establishing of this Government to collect and expresse all such freedoms as for present we foresee may concerne us, and our posteritie after us, And to ratify them with our sollemne consent.

Wee doe therefore this day religiously and unanimously decree and confirme these following Rites, liberties and privileges concerneing our Churches, and Civill State to be respectively impartiallie and inviolably enjoyed and observed throughout our Jurisdiction for ever.

1. No mans life shall be taken away, no mans honour or good name shall be stayned, no mans person shall be arested, restrayned, banished, dismembred, nor any wayes punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no mans goods or estaite shall be taken away from him, nor any way indammaged under colour of law or Countenance of Authoritie, unlesse it be by vertue or equitie of some expresse law of the Country waranting the same, established by a generall Court and sufficiently published, or in case of the defect of a law in any particuler case by the word of God. And in

* In the printed Codes both of Massachusetts and Connecticut this paragraph begins with the words "Forasmuch as," here wanting.

Capitall cases, or in cases concerning dismembring or banishment according to that word to be judged by the Generall Court. *pag.* 1.

2. Every person within this Jurisdiction, whether Inhabitant or forreiner shall enjoy the same justice and law, that is generall for the plantation, which we constitute and execute one towards another without partialitie or delay. *pag.* 143.

3. No man shall be urged to take any oath or subscribe any articles, covenants or remonstrance, of a publique and Civill nature, but such as the Generall Court hath considered, allowed, and required. *pag.* 219.

4. No man shall be punished for not appearing at or before any Civill Assembly, Court, Councell, Magistrate, or Officer, nor for the omission of any office or service, if he shall be necessarily hindred by any apparent Act or providence of God, which he could neither foresee nor avoid. Provided that this law shall not prejudice any person of his just cost or damage, in any civill action. *pag.* 4.

5. No man shall be compelled to any publique worke or service unlesse the presse be grounded upon some act of the generall Court, and have reasonable allowance therefore. *pag.* 73, *sec.* 2.

6. No man shall be pressed in person to any office, worke, warres or other publique service, that is necessarily and suffitiently exempted by any naturall or personall impediment, as by want of yeares, greatnes of age, defect of minde, fayling of sences, or impotencie of Lymbes. *pag.* 73, *sec.* 2.

7. No man shall be compelled to goe out of the limits of this plantation upon any offensive warres which this Commonwealth or any of our freinds or confederats shall voluntarily undertake. But onely upon such vindictive and defensive warres in our owne behalfe or the behalfe of our freinds and confederats as shall be enterprized by the Councell and consent of a Court generall, or by authority derived from the same. *pag.* 73.

8. No mans Cattel or goods of what kinde soever shall be pressed or taken for any publique use or service, unlesse it be by warrant grounded upon some act of the generall Court, nor without such reasonable prices and hire as the ordinarie rates of the Countrie do afford. And if his Cattle or goods shall perish or suffer damage in such service, the owner shall be suffitiently recompenced. *pag.* 73.

9. No monopolies shall be granted or allowed amongst us, but of such new Inventions that are profitable to the Countrie, and that for a short time. *pag.* 119.

10. All our lands and heritages shall be free from all fines and licenses upon Alienations, and from all hariotts, wardships, Liveries, Primer-seisins, yeare day and wast, Escheates, and forfeitures, upon the deaths of parents or Ancestors, be they naturall, casuall or Juditiall. *pag.* 88.

11. All persons which are of the age of 21 yeares, and of right understanding and meamories, whether excommunicate or condemned shall have full power and libertie to make there wills and testaments, and other lawfull alienations of their lands and estates. *pag.* 1.

12. Every man whether Inhabitant or florreiner, free or not free shall have libertie to come to any publique Court, Councel, or Towne meeting, and either by speech or writing to move any lawfull, seasonable, and materiall question, or to present any necessary motion, complaint, petition, Bill or information, whereof that meeting hath proper cognizance, so it be done in convenient time, due order, and respective manner. *pag.* 90.

13. No man shall be rated here for any estaite or revenue he hath in England, or in any forreine partes till it be transported hither. *pag.* 25, *sec.* 2.

14. Any Conveyance or Alienation of land or other estaite what so ever, made by any woman that is married, any childe under age, Ideott or distracted person, shall be good if it be passed and ratified by the consent of a generall Court.

15. All Covenous or fraudulent Alienations or Conveyances of lands, tenements, or any heriditaments, shall be of no validitie to defeate any man from due debts or legacies, or from any just title, clame or possession, of that which is so fraudulently conveyed. *pag. 32, sec. 3.*

16. Every Inhabitant that is an howse holder shall have free fishing and fowling in any great ponds and Bayes, Coves and Rivers, so farre as the sea ebbes and flowes within the presincts of the towne where they dwell, unlesse the free men of the same Towne or the Generall Court have otherwise appropriated them, provided that this shall not be extended to give leave to any man to come upon others proprietic without there leave. *pag. 90, sec. 2.*

17. Every man of or within this Jurisdiction shall have free libertie, notwithstanding any Civill power to remove both himselfe, and his familie at their pleasure out of the same, provided there be no legall impediment to the contrarie. *pag. 91, sec. 3.*

Rites Rules and Liberties concerning Juditiall proceedings.

18. No mans person shall be restrained or imprisoned by any authority whatsoever, before the law hath sentenced him thereto, if he can put in sufficient securitie, bayle or mainprise, for his appearance, and good behaviour in the meane time, unlesse it be in Crimes Capitall, and Contempts in open Court, and in such cases where some expresse act of Court doth allow it. *pag. 74.*

19. If in a general Court any miscariage shall be amongst the Assistants when they are by themselves that may deserve an Admonition or fine under 20 sh. it shall be examined and sentenced among themselves, If amongst the Deputies when they are by themselves, it shall be examined and sentenced amongst themselves, If it be when the whole Court is togeather, it shall be judged by the whole Court, and not severallie as before. *pag. 36, sec. 6.*

20. If any which are to sit as Judges in any other Court shall demeane themselves offensively in the Court, The rest

of the Judges present shall have power to censure him for it, if the cause be of a high nature it shall be presented to and censured at the next superior Court. *pag. 36, sec. 6.*

21. In all cases where the first summons are not served six dayes before the Court, and the cause breifly specified in the warrant, where appearance is to be made by the partie summoned, it shall be at his libertie whether he will appeare or no, except all cases that are to be handled in Courts suddenly called, upon extraordinary occasions, In all cases where there appeares present and urgent cause any assistant or officer apointed shal have power to make out attachments for the first summons. *pag. 7, sec. 2.*

22. No man in any suit or action against an other shall falsely pretend great debts or damages to vex his adversary, if it shall appeare any doth so, The Court shall have power to set a reasonable fine on his head. *pag. 3, sec. 8.*

23. No man shall be adjudged to pay for detaining any debt from any Crediter above eight pounds in the hundred for one yeare, And not above that rate proportionable for all somes what so ever, neither shall this be a coulour or countenance to allow any usurie amongst us contrarie to the law of god. *pag. 153.*

24. In all Trespasses or damages done to any man or men, If it can be proved to be done by the meere default of him or them to whome the trespasse is done, It shall be judged no trespasse, nor any damage given for it. *pag. 18, sec. 3.*

25. No Summons pleading Judgement, or any kinde of proceeding in Court or course of Justice shall be abated, arested or reversed upon any kinde of circumstantiall errors or mistakes, If the person and cause be rightly understood and intended by the Court. *pag. 7, sec. 2.*

26. Every man that findeth himselfe unfit to plead his owne cause in any Court shall have Libertie to imploy any man against whom the Court doth not except, to helpe him,

Provided he give him noe fee or reward for his paines. This shall not exempt the partie him selfe from Answering such Questions in person as the Court shall thinke meete to demand of him.

27. If any plantife shall give into any Court a declaration of his cause in writeing, The defendant shall also have libertie and time to give in his answer in writeing, And so in all further proceedings betwene partie and partie, So it doth not further hinder the dispatch of Justice then the Court shall be willing unto.

28. The plantife in all Actions brought in any Court shall have libertie to withdraw his Action, or to be nonsuited before the Jurie hath given in their verdict, in which case he shall alwaies pay full cost and chardges to the defendant, and may afterwards renew his suite at an other Court if he please. *pag. 3, sec. 7.*

29. In all actions at law it shall be the libertie of the plantife and defendant by mutual consent to choose whether they will be tryed by the Bench or by a Jurie, unlesse it be where the law upon just reason hath otherwise determined. The like libertie shall be granted to all persons in Criminall cases. *pag. 152, sec. 2.*

30. It shall be in the libertie both of plantife and defendant, and likewise every delinquent (to be judged by a Jurie) to challenge any of the Jurors. And if his challenge be found just and reasonable by the Bench, or the rest of the Jurie, as the challenger shall choose it shall be allowed him, and tales de cercumstantibus impaneled in their room. *pag. 152, sec. 3.*

31. In all cases where evidences is so obscure or defective that the Jurie cannot clearely and safely give a positive verdict, whether it be a grand or petit Jurie, It shall have libertie to give a non Lquit, or a spetiall verdict, in which last, that is in a spetiall verdict, the Judgement of the cause shall be left to the Court, And all Jurors shall have libertie in matters of fact if they cannot finde the maine issue, yet to

finde and present in their verdict so much as they can, If the Bench and Jurors shall so suffer at any time about their verdict that either of them cannot proceede with peace of conscience the case shall be referred to the Generall Court, who shall take the question from both and determine it. *pag. 87, sec. 3, part of it.*

32. Every man shall have libertie to replevy his Cattell or goods impounded, distreined, seised, or extended, unlesse it be upon execution after Judgement, and in paiment of fines. Provided he puts in good securitie to prosecute his replevin, And to satisfie such demands as his Adversary shall recover against him in Law. *pag. 132.*

33. No mans person shall be arrested, or imprisoned upon execution or judgment for any debt or fine, If the law can finde competent meanes of satisfaction otherwise from his estaite, and if not his person may be arrested and imprisoned where he shall be kept at his owne charge, not the plantife's till satisfaction be made, unlesse the Court that had cognizance of the cause or some superior Court shall otherwise provide. *pag. 6.*

34. If any man shall be proved and Judged a commen Barrator vexing others with unjust frequent and endlesse suites, It shall be in the power of Courts both to denie him the benefit of the law, and to punish him for his Barratry. *pag. 9.*

35. No mans corne nor hay that is in the feild or upon the Cart, nor his garden stuffe, nor any thing subject to present decay, shall be taken in any distresse, unles he that takes it doth presently bestow it where it may not be imbesled nor suffer spoile or decay, or give securitie to satisfie the worth thereof if it comes to any harme. *pag. 41.*

36. It shall be in the libertie of every man cast condemned or sentenced in any cause in any Inferior Court, to make their appeale to the Court of Assistants, provided they tender their appeale and put in securitie to prosecute it, before the Court be ended wherein they were condemned,

And within six dayes next ensuing put in good securitie before some Assistant to satisfie what his Adversarie shall recover against him; And if the cause be of a Criminall nature, for his good behaviour, and appearance, And everie man shall have libertie to complaine to the Generall Court of any Injustice done him in any Court of Assistants or other. *pag. 3, part of it.*

37. In all cases where it appeares to the Court that the plantife hath wilingly and wittingly done wronge to the defendant in commenceing and prosecuting an action or complaint against him, They shall have power to impose upon him a proportionable fine to the use of the defendant, or accused person, for his false complaint or clamor. *pag. 3, sec. 8.*

38. Everie man shall have libertie to Record in the publique Rolles of any Court any Testimony given upon oath in the same Court, or before two Assistants, or any deede or evidence legally confirmed there to remaine in perpetuam rei memoriam, that is for perpetuall memoriall or evidence upon occasion. *pag. 131.*

39. In all actions both reall and personall betweene partie and partie, the Court shall have power to respite execution for a convenient time, when in their prudence they see just cause so to doe. *pag. 7, sec. 1.*

40. No Conveyance, Deede, or promise whatsoever shall be of validitie, If it be gotten by Illegal violence, imprisonment, threatening, or any kinde of forcible compulsion called Dures. *pag. 32, sec. 3.*

41. Everie man that is to Answer for any criminall cause, whether he be in prison or under bayle, his cause shall be heard and determined at the next Court that hath proper Cognizance thereof, And may be done without prejudice of Justice. *pag. 38, sec. 10.*

42. No man shall be twice sentenced by Civill Justice for one and the same Crime, offence, or Trespasse. *pag. 129.*

43. No man shall be beaten with above 40 stripes, nor shall any true gentleman, nor any man equall to a gentleman be punished with whipping, unles his crime be very shamefull, and his course of life vitious and profligate. *pag.* 129.

44. No man condemned to dye shall be put to death within fower dayes next after his condemnation, unles the Court see spetiall cause to the contrary, or in case of martiall law, nor shall the body of any man so put to death be unburied 12 howers unlesse it be in case of Anatomie. *pag.* 30.

45. No man shall be forced by Torture to confesse any Crime against himselfe nor any other unlesse it be in some Capitall case, where he is first fullie convicted by cleare and suffitient evidence to be guilty, After which if the cause be of that nature, That it is very apparent there be other conspiratours, or confederates with him, Then he may be tortured, yet not with such Tortures as be Barbarous and inhumane. *pag.* 129.

46. For bodilie punishments we allow amongst us none that are inhumane Barbarous or cruel. *pag.* 129.

47. No man shall be put to death without the testimony of two or three witnesses or that which is equivalent thereunto. *pag.* 158.

48. Every Inhabitant of the Countrie shall have free libertie to search and veewe any Rooles, Records, or Regesters of any Court or office except the Councell, And to have a transcript or exemplification thereof written examined, and signed by the hand of the officer of the office paying the appointed fees therefore. *pag.* 131, *sec.* 3.

49. No free man shall be compelled to serve upon Juries above two Courts in a yeare, except grand Jurie men, who shall hould two Courts together at the least. *pag.* 87, *sec.* 5.

50. All Jurors shall be chosen continuallie by the free-men of the Towne where they dwell. *pag.* 86, *sec.* 1.

51. All Associates selected at any time to Assist the Assistants in Inferior Courts, shall be nominated by the Townes belonging to that Court, by orderly agreement amonge themselves.

52. Children, Idiots, Distracted persons, and all that are strangers, or new commers to our plantation, shall have such allowances and dispensations in any cause whether Criminnall or other as religion and reason require. *pag. 152, sec. 4.*

53. The age of discretion for passing away of lands or such kinde of herediments, or for giveing, of votes, verdicts or Sentence in any Civill Courts or causes, shall be one and twentie yeares. *pag. 1.*

54. Whensoever any thing is to be put to vote, any sentence to be pronounced, or any other matter to be proposed, or read in any Court or Assembly, If the president or moderator thereof shall refuse to performe it, the Major parte of the members of that Court or Assembly shall have power to appoint any other meete man of them to do it, And if there be just cause to punish him that should and would not. *pag. 153.*

55. In all suites or Actions in any Court, the plaintife shall have libertie to make all the titles and claims to that he sues for he can. And the Defendant shall have libertie to plead all the pleas he can in answer to them, and the Court shall judge according to the intire evidence of all.

56. If any man shall behave himselfe offensively at any Towne meeting, the rest of the freemen then present, shall have power to sentence him for his offence. So be it the mulct or penaltie excede not twentie shilings. *pag. 147, sec. 1.*

57. Whensoever any person shall come to any very suddaine untimely and unnaturall death, Some assistant, or the Constables of that Towne shall forthwith sumon a Jury of twelve free men to inquire of the cause and manner of their death, and shall present a true verdict thereof to some neere

Assistant, or the next Court to be helde for that Towne upon their oath. *pag.* 39.

Liberties more peculiarie concerning the free men.

58. Civill Authoritie hath power and libertie to see the peace, ordinances and Rules of Christ observed in every church according to his word. so it be done in a Civill and not in an Ecclesiastical way. *pag.* 44, *sec.* 11.

59. Civill Authoritie hath power and libertie to deale with any Church member in a way of Civill Justice, notwithstanding any Church relation, office or interest. *pag.* 44, *sec.* 11.

60. No church censure shall degrade or depose any man from any Civill dignitie, office, or Authoritie he shall have in the Commonwealth. *pag.* 44, *sec.* 10.

61. No Magistrate, Juror, Officer, or other man shall be bound to informe present or reveale any private crim or offence, wherein there is no perill or danger to this plantation or any member thereof, when any necessarie tye of conscience binds him to secresie grounded upon the word of god, unlesse it be in case of testimony lawfully required. *pag.* 86, *sec.* 2.

62. Any Shire or Towne shall have libertie to choose their Deputies whom and where they please for the Generall Court. So be it they be free men, and have taken there oath of fealtie, and Inhabiting in this Jurisdiction. *pag.* 40, *sec.* 2.

63. No Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistant, Associate, or grand Jury man at any Court, nor any Deputie for the Generall Court, shall at any time beare his owne chardges at any Court, but their necessary expences shall be defrayed either by the Towne or Shire on whose service they are, or by the Country in generall. *pag.* 22, *sec.* 1.

64. Everie Action betweene partie and partie, and proceedings against delinquents in Criminall causes shall be

briefly and distinctly entered on the Rolles of every Court by the Recorder thereof. That such actions be not afterwards brought againe to the vexation of any man. *pag.* 129, *sec.* 1.

65. No custome or prescription shall ever prevaile amongst us in any morall cause, our meaneing is maintaine anythinge that can be proved to be morrallie sinfull by the word of god. *pag.* 126.

66. The Freemen of every Towneship shall have power to make such by laws and constitutions as may concerne the wellfare of their Towne, provided they be not of a Criminall, but onely of a prudentiall nature, And that their penalties exceede not 20 sh. for one offence. And that they be not repugnant to the publique laws and orders of the Countrie. And if any Inhabitant shall neglect or refuse to observe them, they shall have power to levy the appointed penalties by distresse. *pag.* 147, *sec.* 1.

67. It is the constant libertie of the free men of this plantation to choose yearly at the Court of Election out of the freemen all the General officers of this Jurisdiction. If they please to dischargdge them at the day of Election by way of vote. They may do it without shewing cause. But if at any other generall Court, we hould it due justice, that the reasons thereof be alleadged and proved. By Generall officers we meane, our Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, Treasurer, Generall of our warres. And our Admirall at Sea, and such as are or hereafter may be of the like generall nature. *pag.* 48, *sec.* 4.

68. It is the libertie of the freemen to choose such deputies for the Generall Court out of themselves, either in their owne Townes or elsewhere as they judge fittest. And because we cannot foresee what varietie and weight of occasions may fall into future consideration, And what counsells we may stand in neede of, we decree. That the Deputies (to attend the Generall Court in the behalfe of the Countrie) shall not any time be stated or inacted, but from Court to Court, or at the most but for one yeare, that the

Countrie may have an Annuall libertie to do in that case what is most behoofefull for the best welfaire thereof. *pag. 40, sec. 2.*

69. No Generall Court shall be desolved or adjourned without the consent of the Major parte thereof. *pag. 35, sec. 5.*

70. All Freemen called to give any advise, vote, verdict, or sentence in any Court, Counsell, or Civill Assembly, shall have full freedome to doe it according to their true Judgements and Consciences, So it be done orderly and inofensively for the manner. *pag. 153.*

71. The Governor shall have a casting voice whensoever an Equi vote shall fall out in the Court of Assistants, or generall assembly, So shall the presedent or moderator have in all Civill Courts or Assemblies. *pag. 35, sec. 6.*

72. The Governor and Deputy Governor Joyntly consenting or any three Assistants concurring in consent shall have power out of Court to reprove a condemned malefactor, till the next quarter or generall Court. The generall Court onely shall have power to pardon a condemned malefactor. *pag. 35, sec. 4.*

73. The Generall Court hath libertie and Authoritie to send out any member of this Comanwealth of what qualitie, condition or office whatsoever into forreine parts about any publique message or Negotiation. Provided the partie sent be acquainted with the affaire he goeth about, and be willing to undertake the service. *pag. 35, sec. 4.*

74. The freemen of every Towne or Towneship, shall have full power to choose yearly or for lesse time out of themselves a convenient number of fitt men to order the planting or prudentiall occasions of that Towne, according to Instructions given them in writeing, Provided nothing be done by them contrary to the publique laws and orders of the Countrie, provided also the number of such select persons be not above nine. *pag. 148, sec. 2.*

75. It is and shall be the libertie of any member or members of any Court Councill or Civill Assembly in cases of makeing or executing any order or law, that properlie concerne religion, or any cause capitall, or warres, or Subscription to any publique Articles or Remonstrance, in case they cannot in Judgement and conscience consent to that way the Major vote or suffrage goes, to make their contra Remonstrance or protestation in speech or writeing, and upon request to have their dissent recorded in the Rolles of that Court. So it be done Christianlie and respectively for the manner. And their dissent onely be entered without the reasons thereof, for the avoiding of tediousnes. *pag.* 128.

76. Whensoever any Jurie of trialls or Jurours are not cleare in their Judgements or consciences conserneing any cause wherein they are to give their verdict, They shall have libertie in open Court to advise with any man they thinke fitt to resolve or direct them, before they give in their verdict. *pag.* 87, *sec.* 5.

77. In all cases wherein any freeman is to give his vote, be it in point of Election, makeing constitutions and orders or passing sentence in any case of Judicature or the like, if he cannot see reason to give it positively one way or another, he shall have libertie to be silent, and not pressed to a determind vote. *pag.* 153.

78. The Generall or publique Treasure or any parte thereof shall never be expended but by the appointment of a Generall Court, nor any Shire Treasure, but by the appointment of the freemen thereof, nor any Towne Treasurie but by the freemen of that Towneship. *pag.* 150, *sec.* 1, 2.

Liberties of Woemen.

79. If any man at his death shall not leave his wife a competent portion of his estaite, upon just complaint made to the Generall Court she shall be relieved.

80. Everie marryed woeman shall be free from bodilie correction or stripes by her husband, unlesse it be in his owne defence upon her assalt. If there be any just cause

of correction complaint shall be made to Authoritie assembled in some Court, from which onely she shall receive it. *pag. 101, sec. 1.*

Liberties of Children.

81. When parents dye intestate, the Elder sonne shall have a doble portion of his whole estate reall and personall, unlesse the Generall Court upon just cause alleadged shall judge otherwise. *pag. 158, sec. 3.*

82. When parents dye intestate haveing noe heires males of their bodies their Daughters shall inherit as Copartners, unles the Generall Court upon just reason shall judge otherwise. *pag. 158, sec. 3.*

83. If any parents shall wilfullie and unreasonably deny any childe timely or convenient mariage, or shall exercise any unnaturall severitie towards them, such children shall have free libertie to complaine to Authoritie for redresse. *pag. 28, sec. 5.*

84. No Orphan dureing their minoritie which was not committed to tuition or service by the parents in their life time, shall afterwards be absolutely disposed of by any kindred, freind, Executor, Towneship, or Church, nor by themselves without the consent of some Court, wherein two Assistants at least shall be present. *pag. 28, sec. 6.*

Liberties of Servants.

85. If any servants shall flee from the Tiranny and cruelty of their masters to the howse of any freeman of the same Towne, they shall be there protected and susteyned till due order be taken for their relife. Provided due notice thereof be speedily given to their maisters from whom they fled. And the next Assistant or Constable where the partie flying is harboured. *pag. 105, sec. 6.*

86. No servant shall be put of for above a yeare to any other neither in the life time of their maister nor after their death by their Executors or Administrators unlesse it be by

consent of Authoritie assembled in some Court or two Assistants. *pag. 105, sec. 7.*

87. If any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man-servant, or maid servant, or otherwise mayme or much disfigure him, unlesse it be by meere casualtie, he shall let them goe free from his service. And shall have such further recompense as the Court shall allow him. *pag. 105, sec. 8.*

88. Servants that have served deligentlie and faithfully to the benefitt of their maisters seaven yeares, shall not be sent away emptie. And if any have bene unfaithfull, negligent or unprofitable in their service, notwithstanding the good usage of their maisters, they shall not be dismissed till they have made satisfaction according to the Judgement of Authoritie. *pag. 105, sec. 9.*

Liberties of Forreiners and Strangers.

89. If any people of other Nations professing the true Christian Religion shall flee to us from the Tiranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famyne, warres, or the like necessary and compulsarie cause, They shall be entertayned and succoured amongst us, according to that power and prudence, god shall give us. *pag. 143.*

90. If any ships or other vessels, be it freind or enemy, shall suffer shipwrack upon our Coast, there shall be no violence or wrong offered to their persons or goods. But their persons shall be harboured, and relieved, and their goods preserved in safety till Authoritie may be certified thereof, and shall take further order therein. *pag. 161.*

91. There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or Captivitie amongst us unles it be lawfull Captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of god established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged thereto by Authoritie. *pag. 10.*

Off the Bruite Creature.

92. No man shall exercise any Tirranny or Crueltie towards any brute Creature which are usuallie kept for man's use. *pag.* 39.

93. If any man shall have occasion to leade or drive Cattell from place to place that is far of, so that they be weary, or hungry, or fall sick, or lambe, It shall be lawful to rest or refresh them, for a competent time, in any open place that is not Corne, meadow, or inclosed for some peculiar use. *pag.* 42.

94. *Capitall Laws.*

1.

Deut. 13. 6, 10.
Deut. 17. 2, 6.
Ex. 22. 20.

If any man after legall conviction shall have or worship any other god, but the lord god, he shall be put to death. *pag.* 14, *sec.* 1.

2.

Ex. 22. 18.
Lev. 20. 27.
Dut. 18. 10.

If any man or woeman be a witch, (that is hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit,) They shall be put to death. *sec.* 2.

3.

If any person shall Blaspheme the name of god, the father, Sonne or Holie Ghost, with direct, expresse, presumptuous or high handed blasphemie, or shall curse god in the like manner, he shall be put to death. *sec.* 3.

4.

If any person committ any wilfull murther, which is manslaughter, committed upon premeditated mallice, hatred, or Crueltie, not in a mans necessarie and just defence, nor by meere casualtie against his will, he shall be put to death. *sec.* 4.

Ex. 21. 12.
Numb. 35. 13,
14, 30, 31.

5.

If any person slayeth an other suddaienly in his anger or Crueltie or passion, he shall be put to death. *sec.* 5.

Numb. 25, 20, 21.
Lev. 24. 17.

6.

Ex. 21. 14. If any person shall slay an other through guile, either by poysoning or other such divelish practice, he shall be put to death. *sec. 6.*

7.

Lev. 20. 15, 16. If any man or woeman shall lye with any beaste or brute creature by Carnall Copulation, They shall surely be put to death. And the beast shall be slaine, and buried and not eaten. *sec. 7.*

8.

Lev. 20. 13. If any man lyeth with mankinde as he lyeth with a woeman, both of them have committed abomination, they both shall surely be put to death. *sec. 8.*

9.

Lev. 20. 19, and 18, 20. If any person committeth Adultery with a Dut. 22. 23, 24. married or espoused wife, the Adulterer and Adulteresse shall surely be put to death. *sec. 9.*

10.

Ex. 21. 16. If any man stealeth a man or mankinde, he shall surely be put to death. *sec. 10.*

11.

Deut. 19. 16, 18, 19. If any man rise up by false witnes, wittingly and of purpose to take away any mans life, he shall be put to death. *sec. 11.*

12.

If any man shall conspire and attempt any invasion, insurrection, or publike rebellion against our commonwealth, or shall indeavour to surprize any Towne or Townes, fort or forts therein, or shall treacherously and perfediouslie attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame of politie or Government fundamentallie, he shall be put to death. *sec. 12.*

95. *A Declaration of the Liberties the Lord Jesus hath given to the Churches.*

1.

All the people of god within this Jurisdiction who are not in a church way, and be orthodox in Judgement, and not scandalous in life, shall have full libertie to gather themselves into a Church Estaite. Provided they doe it in a Christian way, with due observation of the rules of Christ revealed in his word. *pag. 43, sec. 1.*

2.

Every Church hath full libertie to exercise all the ordinances of god, according to the rules of scripture. *sec. 3.*

3.

Every Church hath free libertie of Election and ordination of all their officers from time to time, provided they be able, pious and orthodox. *sec. 4.*

4.

Every Church hath free libertie of Admission, Recommendation, Dismission, and Expulsion, or deposall of their officers, and members, upon due cause, with free exercise of the Discipline and Censures of Christ according to the rules of his word. *sec. 5.*

5.

No Injunctions are to be put upon any Church, Church officers or member in point of Doctrine, worship or Discipline, whether for substance or circumstance besides the Institutions of the lord. *sec. 6.*

6.

Every Church of Christ hath freedome to celebrate dayes of fasting and prayer, and of thanksgiveing according to the word of god. *sec. 7.*

7.

The Elders of Churches have free libertie to meete monthly, Quarterly, or otherwise, in convenient numbers and places,

for conferences, and consultations about Christian and Church questions and occasions. *sec. 8.*

8.

All Churches have libertie to deale with any of their members in a church way that are in the hand of Justice. So it be not to retard or hinder the course thereof. *sec. 9.*

9.

Every Church hath libertie to deale with any magestrate, Deputie of Court or other officer what soe ever that is a member in a church way in case of apparent and just offence given in their places, so it be done with due observance and respect. *pag. 44, sec. 10.*

10.

Wee allowe private meetings for edification in religion amongst Christians of all sortes of people. So it be without just offence for number, time, place, and other circumstances. *sec. 12.*

11.

For the preventing and removeing of errour and offence that may grow and spread in any of the Churches in this Jurisdiction, And for the preserveing of trueith and peace in the severall churches within themselves, and for the maintenance and exercise of brotherly communion, amongst all the churches in the Countrie, It is allowed and ratified, by the Authoritie of this Generall Court as a lawfull libertie of the Churches of Christ. That once in every month of the yeare (when the season will beare it) It shall be lawfull for the minesters and Elders, of the Churches neere adjoyneing together, with any other of the bretheren with the consent of the churches to assemble by course in each severall Church one after an other. To the intent after the preaching of the word by such a minister as shall be requested thereto by the Elders of the church where the Assembly is held, The rest of the day may be spent in publique Christian Conference about the discussing and resolveing of any such doubts and cases of conscience concerning matter of doctrine or worship or government of the church as shall be propounded by

any of the Bretheren of that church, with leave also to any other Brother to propound his objections or answeres for further satisfaction according to the word of god. Provided that the whole action be guided and moderated by the Elders of the Church where the Assemblie is helde, or by such others as they shall appoint. And that no thing be concluded and imposed by way of Authoritie from one or more churches upon an other, but onely by way of Brotherly conference and consultations. That the trueth may be searched out to the satisfying of every mans conscience in the sight of god according his worde. And because such an Assembly and the worke thereof can not be duely attended to if other lectures be held in the same weeke. It is therefore agreed with the consent of the Churches. That in that weeke when such an Assembly is held, All the lectures in all the neighbouring Churches for that weeke shall be forborne. That so the publique service of Christ in this more solemne Assembly may be transacted with greater deligence and attention.

96. Howsoever these above specified rites, freedoms Immunities, Authorites and priveledges, both Civill and Ecclesiastical are expressed onely under the name and title of Liberties, and not in the exact forme of Laws or Statutes, yet we do with one consent fullie Authorise, and earnestly intreate all that are and shall be in Authoritie to consider them as laws, and not to faile to inflict condigne and proportionable punishments upon every man impartiallie, that shall infringe or violate any of them.

97. Wee likewise give full power and libertie to any person that shall at any time be denyed or deprived of any of them, to commence and prosecute their suite, Complaint or action against any man that shall so doe in any Court that hath proper Cognizance or judicature thereof.

98. Lastly because our dutie and desire is to do nothing suddainlie which fundamentally concerne us, we decree that these rites and liberties, shall be Audably read and deliberately weighed at every Generall Court that shall be held, within three yeares next insueing, And such of them as shall

not be altered or repealed they shall stand so ratified, That no man shall infringe them without due punishment.

And if any Generall Court within these next thre yeares shall faile or forget to reade and consider them as abovesaid. The Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, and every Assistant present at such Courts, shall forfeite 20sh. a man, and everie Deputie 10sh. a man for each neglect, which shall be paid out of their proper estate, and not by the Country or the Townes which choose them, and whensoever there shall arise any question in any Court amonge the Assistants and Associates thereof about the explanation of these Rites and liberties, The Generall Court onely shall have power to interprett them.

[This order in Council is in the same manuscript with the preceding article. Part of it is printed in Chalmers, p. 505, &c. It is here complete.]

AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL, THE 20th JULY, 1677.

P R E S E N T .

Lord Chancellor,
Lord Treasurer,
Lord Privy seal,
Duke of Ormond,
Marquis of Worcester,
Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of Northampton,
Earl of Peterborough,
Earl of Sunderland,
Earl of Bath,

Earl of Craven,
Lord Bishop of London,
Lord Maynard,
Lord Berkeley,
Mr. Vice Chancellor,
Mr. Secretary Coventry,
Mr. Secretary Williamson,
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Master of the Ordinance,
Mr. Speaker.

Whereas the Right honorable the Lords of the Committee for trade and plantations did, in pursuance of an order of the 7th February last, make a report to the Lords of the matters in controversy between the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and Mr. Mason, Mr. Gorges touching the right of soil and government claimed by the said parties in certain lands there, by virtue of several grants from his majesties royal father and grandfather as followeth in hæc verba :

May it please your Majesty,

Having received your Majesty's order in Council of the 7th February last past, whereby we are directed to enter

into the examination of the bounds and limits, which the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay in New England on the one hand, and Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges on the other do pretend by their several grants and patents to have been assigned unto them, as also to examine the patent and charters which are insisted on by either side, in order to find out and settle how far the rights of soil or government do belong unto any of them; in the consideration whereof the Lords Chief Justices of your Majesty's courts of Bench and Common Pleas were appointed to give us their assistance, we did on the 5th April last, together with said Lords chief Justices, meet in obedience to your Majesty's commands, and having heard both parties by their counsel learned in the law, we did recommend unto their Lordships to receive a state of the claims made by both parties and to return their opinions upon the whole matter unto us, which their Lordships have accordingly performed in the words following :

In obedience to your Lordship's order we appointed a day for the hearing of all parties and considering the matter referred, having received from them such papers of their cases, as they were pleased to deliver, at which time all parties appearing, the Respondents did disclaim title to the lands claimed by the Petitioners, and it appeared to us, that the said lands are in the possession of several other persons not before us, whereupon we thought not fit to examine any claims to the said lands, it being in our opinion improper to judge of any title of land without hearing of the Tertenants or some other person in their behalf; and if there be any Court of Justice upon the place, we esteem most proper to direct the parties to have recourse thither for the decision of any question of propriety, until it shall appear, that there is just cause of complaint against the Courts of Justice there for injustice or grievance.

We did in the presence of said parties examine their several claims to the government. And the Petitioners having waived the pretence of a grant of government from the council of Plymouth, wherein they were convinced by their own counsel, that no such power or jurisdiction could be transferred or assigned by any colour of law, the question was reduced to the Province of Maine, whereto the Peti-

tioner Gorges made his title by a grant from King Charles the first, in the fifteenth year of his reign, made to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his heirs of the Province of Maine and the government thereof. In answer to this, the Respondents alleged, that long before, viz. in quarto Car. I. the government was granted to them, and produced copies of letters patent, wherein it is recited, that the Council of Plymouth having granted to certain persons Territories thus described viz. All that part of New England in America, which lies and extends between a great river there commonly called Monomak or Merrimack, and a certain other river there called Charles river, being in the bottom of a certain Bay there called the Massachusetts Bay, and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying and being within the space of three English miles on the south part of the said Charles river or of any or every part thereof; and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying and being within the space of three English miles to the southernmost part of the said Bay called Massachusetts Bay, and all those lands and hereditaments whatsoever which lie and be within the space of three English miles to the northward of the said river called Monomak alias Merrimack or to the northward of any and every part thereof, and all lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the limits aforesaid north and south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout the main lands there from the Atlantic and western sea and ocean on the east part to the south sea on the west. By the said letters patent the king confirmed that grant, made them a Corporation, and gave them power to make laws for the governing of the lands and people therein.

To this it was replied; that the patent of the 4th Charles 1st, is invalid. 1. Because there was a patent granted 18 Jacobi, of the same thing then in being, which patent was surrendered afterwards and before the date of the other 15 Charles 1st. 2. The grant of the government can extend no further than the ownership of the soil, the boundaries of which are recited in the patent, wholly excludes the Province of Maine, which lies northward more than three miles beyond the river Merrimack.

We having considered these matters, do humbly conceive

as to the first matter, that the patent of the 4th Charles 1st is good notwithstanding the grant made 18 Jacobi, for it appeared to us by recital in the patent 4th Charles 1st that the Council of Plymouth had granted away all their interest in the lands the year before, and it must be presumed they then deserted the government, whereupon it was lawful and necessary for the king to establish a suitable frame of government, according to his royal wisdom, which was by the patent 4th Charles 1st, making the adventurers a corporation upon the place.

As to the second matter, it seems to us to be very clear, that the grant of the government 4th Charles 1st, extends no further than the boundaries expressed in the patent, and those boundaries cannot be construed to extend farther northwards along the river Merrimack than three English miles. For the north and south bounds of the lands granted, so far as the rivers extend, are to follow the course of the rivers, which made the breadth of the grant. And the words describing the length to comprehend all the lines from the Atlantic ocean to the South sea, of and in all the breadth aforesaid, do not warrant the overreaching of those bounds by imaginary lines or bounds. Other expressions would (in our humble opinion) be unreasonable and against the intent of the grant. The words of and in all the breadth afterward, show the breadth was not intended an imaginary line of breadth laid upon the broader part; but the breadth respects the continuance of the boundaries by the rivers as far as the rivers go, but where the known boundary of breadth determines, it must be carried on by imaginary lines to the South sea. And if the Province of Maine lies more northerly than three English miles from the river Merrimack the patent of 4th Charles 1st gives no right to govern there, and thereupon the patent of the same 15th Charles 1st to the Petitioner Gorges will be valid.

So that upon the whole matter we are humbly of opinion, as to the power of government, that the respondents the Massachusetts and their successors by their patent 4^o Martii 4^o Caroli primi have such rights of government as is granted them by the same patent, within the boundaries of their lands expressed therein, according to such description and expression as we have thereof made as aforesaid. And

the Petitioner Sir Ferdinando Gorges his heirs and assigns by the patent third April, 15th Charles 1st, have such right of government as is granted them by the same patent within the lands called the Province of Maine according to the boundaries of the same expressed in the same patent.

RICH RAINSFORD,
FRA NORTH.

All which being the opinion of the Lords chief Justices and fully agreeing with what we have to report unto your Majesty upon the whole matter referred unto us by the said order, we humbly submit the determination thereof to your Majesty.

ANGLESEY,
ORMOND,
BATH,

CRAVEN,
H. LONDON,
G. CARTERET,

J. WILLIAMSON,
THO. CHICHELEY,
EDW. SEYMOUR.

Which having been read at the Board the 18th inst., it was then ordered, that the said Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges, as also the agents for the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay, should be this day heard upon the said report, if they have any objections to make thereunto. In pursuance whereof all parties attending with their counsell who not alledging any thing so material as to prevail with his Majesty and the Board to differ in judgment from the said report, his majesty thereupon pleased to approve and confirm the same and did order, that all parties do acquiesce therein, and to contribute what lies in them to the punctual and due performance of the said report as there shall be occasion.

JOHN NICHOLS.

Gleanings for New England History. By JAMES SAVAGE,
LL. D., A. A. S., S. H. Pr.

Collegisse juvat.

DURING the summer months of 1842, in a visit to England, I was chiefly occupied with searching for materials to illustrate our early annals; and although disappointment was a natural consequence of some sanguine expectations, yet labor was followed by success in several. Accident threw in my way richer acquisitions which were secured with diligence.

First among my successful perquisitions was the will of Isaac Johnson, Esquire, husband of the lady Arbella, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and often regarded (especially by the first chief Justice Sewall, see Prince's Annals, pp. 316 and 319 of Ed. 1826) as the founder of our city of Boston. Governor Hutchinson, in a note on p. 16 of Vol. I. gives several provisions of a will, executed April 28 in the 5th of Charles I. i. e. 1629, in his time remaining on the Massachusetts files, but which Mr. Felt has not been so happy as to discover. In the same note, he says Johnson made another will before his death, and appointed John Hampden, Esquire, one of his executors, with Winthrop and Dudley. This instrument of 8th March following, though of near a year later date, is, also, of 5th of Charles I. his accession being 27th March, 1625, two days only after the new year by old style. I asked a copy of it, but was careful enough to examine that copy by the original Record. Some slight corrections, after the attestation, were found necessary, in my opinion, to express the exact truth.

“ Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

In the name of God Amen I Isaack Johnson beinge by the Grace of God forthwith to undertake a voyage into New England in America and well weighing the uncertaine condition of all earthly things and especially of the life of man Do for the *pnte dispose of my personall estate in manner and forme following And first whereas I have already in and by the same deed by wch I have settled the inheritance of all my lands tenements and hereditaments in such sorte manner and forme as my earnest desire is the same should goe and bee enjoyed in case I should happen to dye without issue of my body lawfully begotten disposed all those my inclosed grounds in Brandeston commonly called the Bury field unto the use of Richard Knightly Frauncis Nicholls John Readinge Esquires John Butler John Smith and John Holled gents for the terme of one and twenty years from the time of my death To the intent that they and the survivor of them and the Executors and administrators of the survivor of them should dispose thereof and of the rents issues and profitts thereof during the said terme to such pson and persons and in such sorte manner and forme and under such provisoes condicions and limitacons as I by my last Will and Testament in writing or by any other writing by me subscribed shall ly mitt sett downe and appointe I doe by this my pnte last Will and Testament ly mitt sett downe and appointe that they my said trustees and the survivor of them and the executors and administrators of the survivor of them shall dispose of such of the rents issues and profitts of the said Bury feilde as shall amount to the full satisfaccon and value of all such debts as I shall owe at the time of my decease to and for the payment and satisfaction thereof and that my said debts and all monies that shall growe due for or in respect of the forbearance thereof shal bee first paide out of the said rents issues and profitts And that after my debts paid they my said trustees shall dispose of the rest and residue of the said terme of one and twentie years which shal bee then to come and unexpired And of the rents issues and profitts of the said Bury feilde during

* Abbreviation, in the engrossing hand, for present.

the said residue of the said terme In manner following vizt. onethird parte thereof to Mr. Abraham Johnson my father another third part thereof the whole in three equall parts to be divided to and amonge my bretheren and sister the rest of the children of my said father that shal be then livinge and the remayninge third pte thereof to my executors to be disposed by them to and amonge such of my poore kindred as they shall thinke fitt and doe also hereby bequeath after the payment of my debts and legacies one third pte of my other psonall estate wch I shall have in England at the time of my death the whole in three equall parts to be divided to my said father another third parte thereof to and among my said bretheren and sister and the remayning third pte thereof my will is my executors shall dispose to and amonge such of my poore kindred as they shall thinke fitt And as to such of my psonall estate as I shall have in New England in America or in any other place then in the Kingdome of England att the time of my death my will and minde is that the right honourable the Lady Arbella my wife shall after my debts and other Legacies paid have one third pte thereof (the whole in three ptes to be equally divided) And that one third pte of the remayning two parts (the said two partes in three to be divided) shall goe and be disposed to the Governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England aforesaid to and for the benefitt of their plantacons there And that the residue thereof shall goe and be equallie divided amonge my said brethren and sister And I doe make and constitute John Hampden of Hampden in the countie of Buckingham Esquire John Winthrop of Groton in the countie of Suffk. Esquire and the said John Reading and John Holled and Thomas Dudley of Clipsham in the countie of Rutland Esquire to be the executors of this my last Will and doe give unto the said John Hampden three pounds of lawfull monies to make him a ringe of and for the like unto the said John Winthrop Thomas Dudley and John Holled five pounds apeece of like lawfull monies And to the said John Reading Tenn pounds of like monies for their paynes and care to bee taken in the execution of this my Will In Witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the eighth day of March Anno Dom. 1629 And I doe hereby revoke all other Wills

ISA JOHNSON

Signed sealed and published thees two sheets to bee my last Will in the presence of Ric Fitch Philip Johnson Edward Greene.

Probatum fuit testamentum supradictum apud London coram venerabili viro domino Henrico ¹ Marten milite legum doctore Curiae Prerogativæ Cantuariensis magistro custode sive Commissario legitime constituto primo die mensis Julii anno dmni millesimo sexcentesimo tricesimo primo Jramento Johannis Reading unius executorum in hujusmodi testamento nominatorum cui Commissa administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti de bene et fideliter administrando eadem ad Sancta Dei Evangelia Jurato Reservata potestate similem Commissionem faciend Johanni Hampden Johanni Winthrop Johanni Holled et Thomæ Dudley Ceteris Executoribus etiam in hujusmodi testamento nominatis cum venerint seu alter eorum venerit eandem petitur.

CHAS DYNELEY

JOHN IGGULDEN

W F GOSTLING

} Deputy Registers.

Interest, by a greater number, no doubt, in our country, will be found in the result of investigations at Cambridge and Oxford. The records, at least those preceding the middle of the seventeenth century, examined by me, are kept on very different plans at the two Universities. Resort must be had to the registry of the particular College, at which a student is entered, in Cambridge, to ascertain the time of such *entry*, but the University registry gives the date of *matriculation*, (which may be long after,) shows also the College of which he is *then* a member, (and this may be a different one from that in which he began,) and exhibits under each year the catalogue of the several degrees. Before 1604 the number only of *bachelors* is found, without their names; so that it is uncertain in what year Peter Bulkley, John Cotton, Robert Peck, John Robinson or Nathaniel Ward received their first degrees, though we know such honors were conferred, from the annunciation of their rank as masters under their respective years. An index, generally very accurate, facilitates much the inquiry

¹ Sir Henry Marten, LL. D., judge of the Prerogative Court, was father of Henry Marten, the regicide, who was not executed, being spared, Bishop Burnet thinks, on account of his vice and blasphemy, which helped him to many friends.

for graduates. The matriculation book shows the several orders, or styles of living, in which students are entered, as Richard ¹Saltonstall, Mr. 1 Convictus, i. e. Fellow commoner, matriculated 14th Decr. 1627; John Harvard, 2 Conv. in the *second* order of living, i. e. pensioner, or one who pays his own expenses, matriculated 7th July, 1631; and Simon Bradstreet, in *third* order, i. e. a sizer, one who needs assistance, matriculated 9th July, 1618. At Oxford, on the contrary, all the students subscribe their names in one book to certain Articles on matriculation; and in another volume, under each College, in every year, is entered each student's name with a description, as in the list will be shown. No subscription, however, even on receiving the degrees, was required at Cambridge previous to 1616; and the order of the Royal pedant, introducing this innovation, was for a season resisted by the University. One advantage of subscription, besides that of the handwriting, is, that it gives the manner of spelling the name at the same time.

Without success I sought for the names of some of the reverend fathers of New England, at Cambridge; and leave to more persevering inquiry than was within my power, at Oxford, to find John Avery, Francis Dane, Nathaniel Eaton, Henry Green, Robert Lenthall, John Maverick, Thomas Mayhew, Roger Newton, Edward Norris, James Parker, Peter Prudden and John Warham, or either of them. Ample satisfaction for my search will be seen in the following list of early settlers in our country, including three most eminent promoters of our cause, who came not over, who were graduates at the University of Cambridge:

*Allen, Tho., of Gonville and Caius Coll.	A. B. 1627	A. M. 1631
Ames, William,	Christs 1607	—
*Blaxton, William,	Emanuel 1617	1621
*Bradstreet, Simon,	" 1620	1624
Bulkley, Peter,	St. Johns —	1608
*Burre, Jonathan,	² Bennet 1623	1627
*Carter, Thomas,	St. Johns 1629	1633
*Chauncey, Charles,	Trinity 1613	1617 B. D. 1624.
*Child, Robert,	Bennet 1631	1635
Cotton, John,	Trinity —	1606
Dalton, Timothy,	St. Johns 1613	—
*Denton, Richard,	Catherine Hall 1623	—

¹ He did not have a degree, probably because he left the University, before finishing his studies, to accompany his father, Sir Richard, to our country in April 1630.

² Since called Corpus Christi.

*Dudley, ¹ Thomas,	Emanuel	A. B. 1626	A. M. 1630
*Dunster, Henry,	Magdalen	1630	1634
*Eaton, Samuel,	"	1624	1628
*Eliot, John,	Jesus	1622	—
*Fisk, John,	Kings	1625	—
*Gibson, Richard,	Magdalen	1635	—
*Harvard, John,	Emanuel	1631	1635 { in quite a
*Higginson, Francis,	Jesus	1609	St. John's 1613 { plain hand.
*Hooker, Thomas,	Emanuel	1607	1611
*Hubberd, Peter,	Magdalen	1625	1629
*James, Thomas,	Emanuel	1614	1618
*Leverich, William,	"	1625	1631
Maude, Daniel,	"	1606	1610
*Miller, John,	Gon. and Caius	1627	—
*Milton, John,	Christs	1628	1632 { in a beauti-
*Moxon, George	Sydney	1623	— { ful hand.
*Norcrosse, Nathaniel,	Catherine Hall	1636	—
*Norton, John,	Peterhouse	1623	1627
Peck, Robert,	Magdalen	—	1603
*Pierson, Abraham,	Trinity	1632	—
*Peters, Hugh,	"	1617	1622
*Phillipps, George,	Gon. and Caius	1613	1617
*Phillips, John,	Emanuel	1614	1618
Robinson, John,	"	—	1600 B. D. 1607.
Rogers, Ezekiel,	Bennet	1604	Christs 1608
*Rogers, Nathaniel,	Emanuel	1617	1621
*Shepard, Thomas,	"	1623	1627
*Sherman, ² John,	Trinity	1629	1633
Skelton, Samuel,	Clare Hall	1611	1615
Smith, Ralph,	Christs	1613	—
*Stone, Samuel	Emanuel	1623	1627
*Symmes, Zacharye,	"	1620	—
*Walton, William,	"	1621	1625
*Ward, John,	"	1626	1630
Ward, Nathaniel,	"	—	1603
*Welde, Thomas,	Trinity	1613	1618
*Wheelocke, Ralph,	Clare Hall	1626	1631
*Wheelwright, John,	Sydney	1614	1618
*Whiting, Samuel,	Emanuel	1616	1620
Wilson, John,	Christs	1605	1609

Those marked with a star had all subscribed, as in every instance I saw.

Further research, by the Rev. Joseph Romilly, Registrar of the University, enabled him, some weeks later, to enlarge my list by the four additional names:

Baker, Nicholas,	St. Johns	A. B. 1631	A. M. 1635
Reyner, John,	Magdalen	1625	—
Saxton, Peter,	Trinity	—	1603
Wetherill, William,	Bennet	1622	1626

¹ Whether this were a son of Governor Dudley is uncertain, but not improbable.

² In the Index of graduates in the University, I detected, 12 July, an error of date against this name, which, on turning to the original record of the Senate, was forthwith corrected by the Registrar of the University.

with the further information about this last: "He wrote his name in two different ways, first, Wil. Weatherill, 2 Wil. Wetherill," and he adds, that in searching for Henry Flint, Hansard Knollys, John Lothrop and Henry Whitfield, he had been unsuccessful.

By the Rev. Dr. Archdale, Master of Emanuel, and Vice Chancellor of the University, the register of students admitted at that house was shown me; but in the parts examined by me it was only copy of an older book. Of the other Colleges and Halls I was unable to see the registers, because it was vacation. Search among them would be interesting, as they contain, of course, names of those who did not remain to receive degrees, as well as those who did. The time from entry to first degree, which is conferred in January, varies in several instances. Of the entry at Emannel I took only these names:

Robinson, John,	1592	Ward, Nathaniel,	1596
Phillips, John,	1611	Whiting, Samuel,	1613
Rogers, Nathaniel,	1614	¹ Bradstreet, Simon,	1617
Symmes, Zacharye,	1617	Shepard, Thomas,	1619
Stone, Samuel,	1620	Ward, John,	1622
Saltonstall, Richard,	1627	Harvard, John,	1628

Greater satisfaction is felt in examination of the registries at Oxford, though a longer time is required for the search than at Cambridge. Of graduates here the list in Wood's *Fasti* goes back far enough for our purposes, but the printed Catalogue of Cambridge begins with the Restoration in 1660. My transcription of students admitted to matriculation is very slender result of two days' work:

"Ædes Christi Adam Blakeman 23 May 1617 Staffordiensis plebei filius annos natus 19."

"Aula Magdalensis 12 Novr. 1619 Herbertus Pelham Lincoln. Eq. Aurati fil. an. nat. 18."

"Ænei Nasi 28 Jan. 1619 William Tompson Lancast. Pleb. fil. an. natus 22."

"Collegium Trinit. 3 Mart. 1619 Samuel Newman Oxon. pleb. fil. an. nat. 17."

"Collegium Trinit. 19 May 1620 William Hooke Southamptoniensis Generosi filius annos natus 19."

¹ From Mather we should receive the impression, that Bradstreet was not able to remain at the University long enough to receive its honors; and Farmer following him makes him "one year at Emanuel College." He must have given three years to earn his bacalaureate, and perhaps nearly four more for his master's degree.

"Colleg. Lincolnense 20 Junii 1623 Joh. Oxenbridge Northampt. fil. ¹ Daniel Oxenbridge de ² Dentrie in Com. pred. Doctoris an. nat. 18."

"Colleg. Magdalens. 27 Junii 1623 Joh. Allen Oxon. fil. Roberti Allen de Horley in Com. pred. pleb. an. nat. 18."

"Colleg. Omnium animarum 20 Feb. 1623 Marmadukus Mathews Glamorgan. fil. Mathæi Mathews de Swan-ey in Com. pred. pleb. an. nat. 18."

"Colleg. Jesu 30 April 1624 Johannes Jones ³ Monuensis fil. Gul. Jones de Abergewenia in com. pred. Plebei. annos natus 17."

"Hospitium Novum 18 Febr. 1624 Francis Bright London. fil. Edoardi Bright de Londo. pl. an. nat. 22."

"Colleg. Lincoln. 16to. Martii 1626 Elias Corlet London. fil. Henrici Corlet de London. pleb. annos nat. 17."

"Aula Magdalens. 16 Mart. 1648 Jac. Allen."

Of all the preceding names, subscribed by the parties, except the last, I saw the proof. Perhaps, after the overthrow of the government a few years earlier, subscription was not required. Pelham's is in a beautiful hand at the top of the list for the year in his college.

My time was too limited, at Oxford, to permit all the investigations that would be agreeable. Many were entered at the University, without being matriculated afterwards; and many matriculated, no doubt, abandoned their rights without reaching the honor of a degree, that would entitle their names to entry in the Fasti. Some happier visiter may increase my list.

Of the age of Samuel Newman the foregoing entry enables us to correct the errors of the Magnalia and of Increase Mather. From the latter, in Wood's *Athenæ* III. 648, letters are quoted "that he thinks Mr. Sam. Newman, author of the Concordance, was born in Yorkshire, and that (as he takes it) he was in the 65th year of his age when he died." No doubt his years were less than sixty-two. The Register of Banbury, in Oxford, proves that the clergyman of that parish "baptized May 24, 1602 Samuel Newman, son of Richard Newman." The Fasti of Wood I. 392 sub an. 1620 gives him of "St. Edmund Hall A. B. 17 Oct." A

¹ The excellent Editor of Wood's *Athenæ* supplies this certificate:

"Ædes Christi 1590 Octob. 30 Daniell Oxenbridg Warwicke Minister verb. dei ætat 17." Reg. Matric. P. fol. 23.

He proceeded Bachelor of Arts May 9, 1593, and Master of Arts at the Act 1596. Became Bachelor of Medicine with licence to practise, and D. of Med. May 23, 1620. The above the father of John Oxenbridge of Boston, Massachusetts

July 28 1842.

PHILIP BLISS,
Registrar of the University.

² Usually written Daventry, though pronounced according to the text.

³ Anglice, of Monmouth.

relation to Yorkshire he certainly had, for I find in the History of Hallamshire, by Rev. Jos. Hunter, folio, London, 1819, p. 283, Samuel Newman was presented to the chapel of Midhope in Yorkshire, 1625; and that Mat. Booth, his successor, was presented in 1635.

A partial deficiency of records of the University, "during the usurpation times," excluded me from information, probably, about Rev. Charles Morton, and from something more than is told of Samuel Lee in the *Fasti* II. 111, sub an. 1648, 14 April, when he was created M. A. being of Magdalen Hall; and, again, when Oliver Cromwell was Chancellor, ib. 164 sub an 1651, 9 April, where his name stands the second proctor, and "fellow of Wadham College" is added. Wood says "the junior proctor being not of sufficient standing in the degree of master¹ for the taking on him the procuratorial office, at which time he was elected by the society of his coll. the visitors dispensed with it by their order, dat. 22 Mar. 1650."

For our William Hooke, of New Haven, in the foregoing list, the *Fasti* I. 392, mentions his admission to B. A. 28 June 1620 and ib. 411 M. A. 7 July 1623, but this last mentioned day is an error, as, on reference to the original register O. fol. 260 of the University, it appears 26 May in that year.

Henry Saltonstall and William Stoughton, sons of our own college, we know were created fellows of New College at Oxford, and that the latter is not named in the *Fasti*; but of the former is this notice: II. 172 sub an. 1652 "June 24, Henr. Saltonstall, a knight's son, fellow of New Coll. by the favour of the visitors, and doct. of phys. of Padua was then incorporated. The said degree he took at Padua in Oct. 1649." This made me curious to see the records of New College, which Dr. Williams, the Warden, exhibited, and permitted extracts from the list of Fellows: "Henr. Saltonstall 1653-1657, Med. Dr. Patavii and Oxoniæ, Equ. aurati filius Author. Parl. 1650.

"Gul. Stoughton A. Mr. antehac Acad. Nov. Angliæ graduatus, hic positus auth. Parl. rege reduci discessit 1660." Here is, I suppose, a sufficient protest against such intrusion.

¹ Four years standing, as master of arts, is by the Statutes, the Registrar informed me, the qualification of eligibility for a proctor.

Perhaps the acquisition most valuable in the opinion of our local antiquaries is my copious extracts from a MS. volume in folio at the Augmentation Office (so called), where Rev. Joseph Hunter, one of the Record Commissioners, presides, in Rolls Court, Westminster Hall. It contains the names of persons, permitted to embark, at the port of London, after Christmas 1634, to the same period in the following year, kept *generally* in regular succession. This was found only a few months since, and may not have been seen by more than two or three persons for two hundred years.

The first page is for names of a few soldiers to serve under Capt. Prichard at Gottenburgh; the 2d, 3d and part of 4th pages are for persons bound to Virginia; the next list is for St. Christophers; then twelve several short lists of soldiers going on service, then a long list to go in the Hope-well, Thomas Wood, master, to Barbadoes, entered 17th Feb'y; then nine lists of soldiers for different parts of Flanders or other countries.

But on p. 16, I find, "11 March 1634, theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, having brought certificate from the Justices of the Peace & Ministers of the parish of St. Egyd. Cripplegate, the party hath taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Peter Howson, 31 years, and his wife Ellin Howson, 39 years old, and Turris Lond. (parish,) Thomas Stares 31 years, Susan Johnson 12." Under 16 Mar. "to New England, imbarqued in the Christopher de Lo[n]don John White, master, bound thither, the men have taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

Francis Stiles,	35 yeres.	George Chappell,	20 yeres.
Thomas Basset,	37	Robert Robinson,	45
Thomas Stiles,	20	Edward Patteson,	33
Thomas Barker,	21	Francis Marshall,	30
Jo. Dyer,	28	Rich. Heyles,	22
Jo. Harris,	28	Tho. Halford,	20
James Horwood,	30	Tho. Hauksworth,	23
Jo. Reeves,	19	Jo. Stiles,	35
Tho. Foulfoot,	22	Henry Stiles,	40
James Busket,	28	Jane Morden,	30
Tho. Cooper,	18	Joan Stiles,	35
Edward Preston,	13	Henry Stiles,	3
Jo. Grubb,	30	Jo. Stiles,	9 mo.
Mildred Bredstreet,		Rachell Stiles,	28

After this many lists of soldiers succeed; but, p. 22, comes "22 Mar. 1634, theis underwritten names are to be im-

barqued in the Planter, Nic. Trarice, master, bound for New England, per certificate from Stepney parish, & attestacon from Sir Tho. Jay & Mr. Simon Muskett, two Justices of the Peace; the men have taken the oath of supremacy and allegiance.

	Nicholas Davies,	40 yer.	Robert Stevens,	22	a sawyer	} 4 servants.
	Sara Davies,	48	John More,	24	a laborer	
	Joseph Davies,	13	James Haieward,	22		
	William Locke,	6	Judith Phippin,	16		
a sawyer	Jo. Maddox,	43				
glover	James Launin,	26				

Next come embarkations 26 Mar. 1635, for Barbadoes and St. Christophers; but, p. 23, I find "1 Apr. in the Hopewell of London, Wm. Burdocke, for New England,

Jo. Cooper,	41 yer.	} of Oney in Buckinghamshire	} Theis have taken the othe of allegiance and supremacy.			
Edmond Farrington,	47					
Wm. Purryer,	36					
Geo. Griggs,	42					
Phillip Kyrkland,	21	} of Sherington	} Buckinghamsh.			
Nath'l. Kyrkland,	19					
Tho. Griggs,	15	} Children of	Wibrooe,	42 yer.	wife of Jo. Cooper	
Wm. Griggs,	14		Elizabeth,	49	wife of Edmond Farrington	
Eliz. Griggs,	10		Alyce,	37	wife of Wm. Purryer	
Mary Griggs,	6		aforesaid	Alyce,	42	wife of Geo. Griggs
James Griggs,	2					
Mary Cooper,	13	} Children of John Cooper aforesaid	Philip Phillips,	15	} Children of Edmond Farrington	
Jo. Cooper,	10		Sara Farrington,	14		
Tho. Cooper,	7		Martha Farrington,	12		
Martha Cooper,	5		Jo. Farrington,	11		
			Eliz. Farrington,	8		
Mary Purryer,	7	} Children of Wm. Purryer	27 persons."			
Sara Purryer,	5					
Nathan Purryer,	18 mo.					

The next list is 2 April. "Theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Planter, Nic. Trarice, master, bound thither. The parties have brought certificate from the minister of Great St. Albans in Hertfordshire, and attestacon from the Justices of Peace according to the Lords' order.

		Yeres.		Yeres.
a mercer	John Tuttell,	39	Marie Chiltwood,	24
	Joan Tuttell,	42 shoemaker	Tho. Olney,	35
	John Lawrence,	17	Mary Olney,	30
	Wm. Lawrence,	12	Tho. Olney,	3
	Maria Lawrence,	9	Epenetus Olney,	1
	Abigail Tuttell,	6 husbandman	Geo. Giddins,	25
	Symon Tuttell,	4	James Giddins,	20
	Sara Tuttell,	2	Tho. Savage, a tailor,	27
	Jo. Tuttell,	1 a tailor	Richard Harvie,	22
		husbandman	Francis Peboddy,	21

	Joan Antrobus,	65	linen weaver	Wm. Wilcockson,	34
	Marie Wrast,	24		Margaret Wilcockson,	24
	Tho. Greene,	15		Jo. Wilcockson,	2
	Nahum Haserd,	16	{servant to	An. Harvea,	22
a mason	William Beardsley,	30	Jo. Tuttle.	Willm Felloe,	24
	Maria Beardsley,	26	a shoemaker	Francis Baker,	24
	Maria Beardslea,	4	a tailor	Tho. Carter,	25
	John Beardslea,	2		Michell Williamson,	30
	Joseph Beardslea,	6 mo.		Elizabeth Morrison,	12
husbandman	Allen Perley,	27			
stationer	James Weaver,	23			
husbandman	Edmond Weaver,	28	and his wife Margaret, aged 30 years.		
			dwelling in Auckstray, in Herefordshire."		

The next list is "Theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Hopewell, master Wm. Burdick, the parties have brought certificates from the minister and Justices of Peace, that they are no subsidy men, they have taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, per certificate from Stanstedd Abby there.

husbandman	John Astwood,	26	husbandman	Lawrence Whittemore,	63
	Jo. Ruggles,	10		Elizabeth Whittemore,	57
	Martha Carter,	27		Elizabeth Turner,	20
	Marie Elliott,	13		Sara Elliott,	6
Nazing	in Essex.			Robert Day,	30
shoemaker	Jo. Ruggells,	44		Wm. Peacock,	12
uxor	Barbarie Ruggells,	30		Isaac Disbrough,	18
	Jo. Ruggells,	2	of Ell—Tyrley in com. Cambridge.		
	Elizabeth Elliott,	8		Elizabeth Elliott,	30
	Giles Payson,	26		Lydia Elliott,	4
	Isaac Morris,	9		Phillip Elliott,	2
husbandman	Jo. Peat,	38	of St. Katharines.		
	of Duffil parish in Derbysh.		husbandman	Robert Titus,	35
	Edward Keele,	14	uxor	Hanna Titus,	31
	Jo. Goadby,	16		John Titus,	8
	Jo. Bell,	13		Edmond,	5
	Tho. Greene,	15		Geo. Woodward,	35, fishmonger, per
				certificate from Sir Geo. Whitmore	
				& Sir Nich. Raynton, two Justices of	
				the Peace in London, and from Jo.	
				Thorp, minister of the parish of St.	
				Buttolphs Billingsgate."	

Next follow short lists for Barbados 3 and 4 Apr. and then a long additional list for the Planter, Nic. Trarice as before-said, hereunder given, "6 April 1635.

a currier	Martin Saunders,	40	a glover	Anto. Stannion,	24
uxor	Rachell Saunders,	40		Daniell Hanbury,	29
	Lea Saunders,	10		Francis Dexter,	13
3 children.	Judith Saunders,	8		Willm. Dawes,	15
	Martin Saunders,	4		Maria Saunders,	15

3 servants husbandman wife and 2 children	{	Marie Fuller,	17	a tailor	Clement Bates,	40	These parties imbar- ked in the Eliza- beth, master Wm. Stagg, bound for New England, per certificate from the Justices and Minis- ter of the parish."
		Richard Smith,	14		Ann Bates,	40	
		Rich'd Ridley,	16		James Bates,	14	
		Francis Newcom,	30		Clement Bates,	12	
		Rachell Newcom,	20		Rachell Bates,	8	
5 child- ren	{	Rachell Newcom,	2½	said servants.	Joseph Bates,	5	
		Jo. Newcom,	9 mo.		Benj. Bates,	2	
					Jo. Winchester,	19	
					Jarvice Gold,	30	

“More for the Planter.

husbandman	Richard Tuttell,	42	husbandman	Willm Tuttell,	26
	Ann Tuttell,	41		Elizabeth Tuttell,	23
	Ann Tuttell,	12		Jo. Tuttell,	3½
	Jo. Tuttell,	10		Ann Tuttell,	2½
	Rebecca Tuttell,	6		Tho. Tuttell,	3 mo.
	Isbell Tuttell,	70		Sycille Clark,	16
	Marie Wolhouston,	30		Marie Bill,	11
	Phillip Atwood,	12	a carpenter	Francis Bushnell,	26
	Barth Faldoe,	16		Marie Bushnell,	26
	Maria Smith,	18		Martha Bushnell,	1
	Elizabeth Swayne,	20		Willm Lea,	16
	Margaret Leach,	15		Hanna Smith,	18
				Ann Wells,	15

In the Hopewell, Willm Burdock, master, bound for New England.

a glazier	James Burges,	14	a tailor	Christian Luddington,	18
	Alexander Thwaites,	20		Maria Abbott,	16
	Jo. Abbott,	16		Maria Cope,	14
	Jo. Bellowes,	12		Maria Peake,	15
	Jo. Johnes,	15		Tho. Pell,	22
	Jo. Bushnell,	21			

In the Rebecca, of London, Mr. Hedges, for New England.

a husbandman	Peter Underwood,	22	Isabell Cradock,	30
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7 Apr. this party under mentioned is to be imbarqued in the Planter, bound for New England, per certificate from Alderman Fenn of his conformity, he hath taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Richard Fenn 27.”

Then follow long lists, by several ships, for St. Christophers and Barbadoes; but on p. 30 comes “8 Apr. theis parties hereunder mentioned are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth of London, Wm. Stagg, master, bound thither; they have taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, per certificate from the parish of St. Alphage, Cripplegate, the minister thereof.

Tanners	{ Wm. Holdred,	25	Daniell Bradley,	29
	{ Roger Preston,	21		Isaac Stedman, 30"

Also, with a similar verification from the "minister of Kingston upon Thames, in the County of Surrey, to be transported in the Planter.

a miller	Palmer Bayley,	21
an ostler	Wm. Buttrick,	20
a miller	Tho. Jernell,	27

9 Apr. in the Elizabeth de London pred. master Will'm Stag bound for New England, theis underwritten names have brought certificate from the minister of Hauckust in Kent, and attestacon," &c. &c.

a clothier	James Hosmer,	Yeres. 28	Jo. Stow,	40
	uxor Ann Hosmer,	27		Edward Gold, 28
2 children	{ Marie Hosmer,	2	Geo. Russell,	19
	{ Ann Hosmer, 3 mo.			Jo. Mussell, 15
maid servants	{ Marie Dounard,	24		
	{ Marie Martin,	19		

In the Rebecca, master Jo. Hedges, bound for New England.

husbandman	Jacob Welsh,	32	Wm. Swayne,	16
	Geo. Woodward,	35		Francis Swayne, 14
	Elizabeth Winchell,	52		
	Jo. Winchell,	13		

17th Apr. in the Eliza & Ann, Master Ro. Cooper, bound to New England,

Thomas Hedsall, 47 years.

In the Increase, of London, master Robert Lea, versus New England,

a mason	Geo. Baron,	43 years.		
	Samuel,	12		
	Susan,	10		
	John,	8	Children of the said mason.	
a husbandman	Tho. Jestlin,	43	Rebecca,	18
	Rebecca, his wife,	43	Dorothy,	11
	Eliza Ward,	38	Nathaniell,	8
	a maid servant,		Eliza,	6
			Mary,	1

Children of the said Tho. Jestlin.

10 Apr. theis underwritten names are to be transported in the Planter, pred. Nico. Trarice, master, bound for New England, per certificate of the minister of Sudburie in Suffk.

and from the maior of the town, of his conformity to the orders & discipline of the church of England, & that he is no subsidy man, he hath taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

carrier	Richard Hasfell,	54 yrs.	Alice Smith,	40
uxor	Martha,	42	Elizabeth Cooper,	24
	{ Marie Hasfell,	17	Jo. Smith,	13
	{ Sara Hasfell,	14	Job Hawkins,	15
5 daughters.	{ Martha Hasfell,	8		
	{ Rachell Hasfell,	6		
	{ Ruth Hasfell,	3		

In the Planter pred. &c. &c.

.	Eylin Hanford,	46	Rodolphus Elmes,	15
2 daughters.	{ Margaret Hanford,	16	Tho. Stansley,	16
	{ Elizabeth Hanford,	14		

In the Elizabeth of London, Wm. Stagg, master, bound for New England.

Will'm Wilder,	30
Peter Thorne,	20
Alice Wild,	40

A list of soldiers embarking for Flanders follows ; and then comes :

"11 Apr. In the Elizabeth, pred. Wm. Stagg, master, bound for New England, &c. &c.

a carpenter	Wm. Whitteredd,	86	Jo. Cluffe,	22
uxor	Elizabeth,	30	Jo. Wild,	17
son	Tho. Whitteredd,	10	Samuell Haieward,	22
			Jo. Duke,	20

In the Planter pred. theis &c. &c.

	Sara Pittnei,	23	Margaret Pitney,	22
2 children.	{ Sara Pitnei,	7	Rachell Deane,	31
	{ Samuell Pitney,	1½		

12 Apr. In the Elizabeth & Ann, master Roger Cooper, bound for New England, per certificate from the maior of Evesham in Com. Worcest. & from the minister, &c. &c.

Margaret Washborne,	49	
Jo. Washborne,	14	} 2 sons.
Phillip Washborne,	11	

In the Elizabeth de London, Wm. Stagg, master, pred.

theis underwritten names brought certificate from the minister of St Savior's, Southwark, of &c. &c.

	Thos. Miller,	30		Joshua Wheat,	17
uxor	Marie Miller,	29		Jo. Smith,	12
	Ursula Greenway,	32		Ralph Chapman,	20
	Henrie Bull,	19		Tho. Millet,	2

To be imbarqued in the Increase, Robert Lea, master, bound for New England per certificate from Billericay in Essex from the minister of the parish, that he is no subsidy man.

husbandman	Wm. Rusco,	51			
et uxor	Rebecca,	40			
	Sara Rusco,	9	} 4 children.	Samuell,	6
	Marie Rusco,	7		Wm. Rusco,	1

In the Increase pred. &c. &c. from All Sts. Stayning's, Mark Lane.

a tailor	Tho. Page,	29			
wife &	{ Elizabeth Page,	28		Edward Sparks,	} 2 servants."
2 children.	{ Tho. Page,	2		Kat. Taylor,	
	{ Katherin Page,	1			

On p. 35 we find "In the Elizabeth & Ann, Roger Cooper, master &c., to be imbarqued for New England, having taken &c. &c. and likewise brought &c. &c.

husbandman	Robert Hawkins,	25		Wm. Hubbard,	35
	Jo. Whitney,	35		Tho. Hubbard,	10
	Jo. Palmerley,	20		Tho. Eaton,	1
	Richard Martin,	12		Marie Hawkins,	24
	Jo. Whitney,	11		Ellin Whitney,	30
	Richard Whitney,	9		Abigall Eaton,	35
	Nathaniell Whitney,	8		Sara Cartrack,	24
	Tho. Whitney,	6		Jane Dammand,	9
	Jonathan Whitney,	1		Marie Eaton,	4
	Nico. Sension,	13		Marie Broomer,	10
	Henry Jackson,	29		Mildred Cartrack,	2
				Joseph Alsopp,	14

In the Susan & Ellin, Edward Payne, master, for New England, theis &c. &c. &c.

husbandman	John Procter,	40	husbandman	Richard Saltonstall,	23
	Martha Procter,	28		Merriall Saltonstall,	22
	John Procter,	3		Merriall Saltonstall,	9 mo
	Marie Procter,	1		Tho. Wells,	30
	Alice Street,	28		Peter Cooper,	28
husbandman	Walter Thornton,	36		Wm. Lambert,	26
	Joanna Thornton,	44		Samuell Podd,	25

John North,	20	Jeremy Belcher,	22
Mary Pynder,	53	Marie Clifford,	25
Francis Pynder,	20	Jane Coe,	30
Marie Pynder,	17	Marie Riddlesden,	17
Joanna Pynder,	14	Jo. Pellam,	20
Anna Pynder,	12	Mathew Hitchcock,	25
Katherin Pinder,	10	Elizabeth Nicholls,	25
Jo. Pynder,	8	Thomazin Carpenter,	35
Richard Skofield,	22	Ann Fowle,	25
Edward Weeden,	22	Edmond Gorden,	18
George Wilby,	16	Tho. Sydlie,	22
Richard Hawkins,	15	Margaret Leach,	22
Tho. Parker,	30	Marie Smith,	21
Symon Burd,	20	Elizabeth Swayne,	15
Jo. Mansfield,	34	Grace Berlie,	30
Clement Cole,	30	Ann Wells,	20
Jo. Jones,	20	Dyonis Tayler,	48
Wm. Burrow,	19	Hanna Smith,	30
Phillip Atwood,	13	Jo. Buckley,	15
Wm. Snowe,	18	Wm. Buttrick,	18
Edward Lummus,	24		

15 May, Penelope Pellam, 16 yeres, to pass to her brothers plantacon."

P. 36. "In the Increase, of London, master Robert Lea, for New England.

Robert Cordell, Gould-	{	Samuel Andrewes, aged 37 yeres.
smith, in Lambert street,		Robte. Naney, 22
sent them away.		Robt. Sankey, 30
		James Gibbens, 21

Also,

all for New England in the Increase aforesaid,	{	Jane, the wife of the bovesaid Saml Andrewes, 30.
		Ellyn Longe, her servant, aged 20 yeres.
		Jane Andrewes, her daughter, aged 3 yeres.
		Elizabeth Andrewes, her daughter, aged 2 yeres.

15 Apr. In the Elizabeth de London, master Wm. Stagg versus New England.

Rich'd Walker,	24 yrs.	{	Theis parties have taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy before Sir Wm. Whitmore, Sir Nicho. Ranton.
Jo. Beamond,	23		
Wm. Beamond,	27		
Tho. Lettyne,	23		
Jo. Johnson,	23		
William Walker, 15.			

15 Apr. In the Elizabeth & Ann de Lond., master Roger Cooper, versus New England.

Percy King, 24 yrs., a maid servant to Mr. Ro. Crowley.

In the Elizabeth de Lond. master Wm. Stagg versus New England.

James Walker, 15 yrs. & Sarra Walker 17 yrs. servants to Jo. Browne, a Baker, & to one Wm. Brasey, linen draper in Cheapside, London, per certificate of their conformity."

Next is a page for soldiers to Flanders.

P. 38. "18 Apr. Theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Increase, de Lond. Robert Lea, master, the parties predict. having brought, &c. &c.

Glover Tho. Bloggett, 30	Daniell Bloggett, 4	} 2 children
uxor Susan Bloggett, 37	Samuell Bloggett, 1½	

In the Increase, pred. The partie underwritten hath brought certificate from the minister of Wapping and from two Justices, &c. &c. &c.

Lynen weaver Tho. Chittingden, 51	Isack Chittingden, 10	} 2 children.
uxor Rebecca Chittingden, 40	Hen. Chittingden, 6	

Theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Susan & Ellyn, Edward Payne, master, the parties have brought certificate, &c. &c.

A draper Ralph Hudson, 42	husbandman Simon Crosby, 26	
uxor Marie Hudson, 42	uxor Ann Crosby, 25	
3 children, {	Hanna Hudson, 14	Tho. Crosby, 8 mo. 1 child.
	Eliz. Hudson, 5	husbandman Rec. Rainton, 36
	Jo. Hudson, 12	uxor Ann Rainton, 36
	Tho. Briggam, 32	Edmond Rainton, 6 1 child.
servants, {	Ben. Thwing, 16	a husbandman Percival Greene, 32
	Ann Gelston, 34	uxor Ellin Greene, 32
	Judith Kirk, 18	Jo. Traine, 25
	Jo. More, 41	Margaret Dix, 19
	Henry Knowles, 25	Jo. Atherson, 24
	Geo. Richardson, 30	Ann Blason, 27
	Ben. Thomlins, 19	Ben. Buckley, 11
	Edward Thomlins, 30	Daniell Buckley, 9
	Barbara Ford, 16	Jo. Carrington, 33
	Joan Broomer, 13	Mary Carrington, 33"
Richard Brooke, 24		
Tho. Brooke, 19		

Next follow five pages of soldiers for service abroad, and above a page of names for Barbadoes.

"15 Apr. Theis parties hereafter expressed are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Increase, Robert Lea, master, having taken, &c., as also being conformable, &c., whereof they brought testimony per certif. from the Justices & ministers where there abodes have lately been.

husbandman	Samuell Morse,	50		John Crodie,	17
uxor	Elizabeth Morse,	48		butcher, Wm. Houghton,	22
	Joseph Morse,	20	husbandman,	Willm Payne,	37
	Elizabeth Daniell,	2		Anna Payne,	40
A linen weaver	Philemon Dalton,	45		Wm. Payne,	10
uxor	Hanna Dalton,	35		Anna Payne,	5
	Samuel Dalton,	5½		Jo. Payne,	3
	Wm. White,	14		Daniell Payne, 8 weeks.	
husbandman	Mathew Marvyn,	35		James Bitton,	27
uxor	Elizabeth Marvyn,	31		Wm. Potter,	25
	Elizabeth Marvin,	31		Elizabeth Wood,	38
	Mathew Marvyn,	8		Elizabeth Beards,	24
	Marie Marvyn,	6		Suzan Payne,	11
	Sara Marvyn,	3		Aymes Gladwell,	16
	Hanna Marvyn,	½		Phebe Perce,	18
	Jo. Warner,	20	Carpenter	Henry Grosse,	20
	Isack More,	13	husbandman	Tho. Kilborne,	55
carpenter	Samuell Ireland,	32	uxor	Francis Kilborne,	50
uxor	Marie Ireland,	30		Margaret Kilborne,	23
	Martha Ireland,	1½		Lyddia Kilborne,	22
Plowrite	Willm. Buck,	50		Marie Kilborne,	16
	Roger Buck,	18		Francis Kilborne,	12
A joyner	Jo. Davies,	29		Jo. Kilborne,	10
A husbandman	Abram Fleming,	40		James Roger,	20
husbandman	Jo. Fokar,	21		Richard Nunn,	19
Clothier	Tho. Parish,	22		Tho. Barrett,	16
Chyrurgion	Symon Ayres,	48		Jo. Hackwell,	18
uxor	Dorothy Ayres,	38		Christian Ayres,	7
	Marie Ayres,	15		Anna Ayres,	5
	Tho. Ayres,	13		Benjamin Ayres,	3
	Symon Ayres,	11		Sara Ayres, 3 mo.	
	Rebecca Ayres,	9	A sawyer,	Steeven Upson,	23
	Jane Rainton,	30		Jo. Myndell,	16
husbandman	Symon Stone,	50		{ Isack Warden,	18
uxor	Joan Stone,	38		{ Nathaniell Wood,	12
	Francis Stone,	16	servants,	{ Elizabeth Streaton,	19
	Ann Stone,	11		{ Marie Toller,	16"
	Symon Stone,	4			
	Marie Stone,	3			
	Jo. Stone,	5 weeks			

Next follows a whole page for the Island of Providence.

P. 47. "17 Apr. Theis parties hereunder expressed are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth, Wm. Stagg, master, per certificate, &c. &c. &c.

husbandman	James Bate,	53		Peter Gardner,	18
	Alice Bate,	52		Wm. Hubbard,	35
	Lyddia Bate,	20		Rachell Bigg,	6
	Marie Bate,	17		Patience Foster,	40
	Margaret Bate,	12		Hopestill Foster,	14
	James Bates,	9		Francis White,	24
husbandman	Edward Bullock,	32		Joan Sellin,	50
	Elizabeth Stedman,	26		Ann Sellin,	7
	Nathaniell Stedman,	5		Edward Loomis,	27
	Isack Stedman,	1		Jo. Hubbard,	10
	Robert Thornton,	11		Jo. Davies,	9

Margaret Davies,	32	Marie Davies,	4
Elizabeth Davies,	1	Jo. Browne,	40"
Dorothy Smith,	45		
filia Mary Smith,	15		

P. 48. "The partie hereunder named with his wife & children is to be transported to New England, imbarked in the Elizabeth & Ann. Willm. Cooper, master, &c. &c. &c.

Alexander Baker,	28	} yeares.	Clement Chaplin,	48
uxor Elizabeth,	23		Wm. Swayne,	50"
Elizabeth Baker,	3			
Christian Baker,	1			

Next is a list of ten for the Island of Providence ; and on same page follows :

"27 Apr. Theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, Roger Cooper, master, bound thither, in the Elizabeth & Ann, &c. &c. &c.

A carpenter Richard Brooke,	31	Daniell Preston,	13"
Edward Sall,	24		

Next follows a very long list for Barbados ; but on p. 50 comes, "29 Apr. Theis, &c. &c. to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth & Ann, Roger Cooper, master, the parties having, &c. &c. &c.

A smith Ric'd. Goare,	17	Joseph Faber,	26
uxor Tho. Lord,	50	Tho. Pond,	21
Dorothy,	46	Robert Lord,	9
Thomas Lord,	16	Aymie Lord,	6
Ann Lord,	14	Dorothy Lord,	4
Wm. Lord,	12	Josias Cobbet,	21
John Lord,	10	Jo. Holloway,	21
James Cobbett,	23	Jane Bennet,	16
A Taylor Christopher Stanley,	32	Wm. Reeve,	22"
uxor Susanna	31		
Wm. Samond,	19		

Then follow a few soldiers.

P. 51. "4 May, &c. &c. imbarqued in the Elizabeth & Ann, pred. &c. &c. &c. &c.

A tallow chandler Hen. Wilkinson, 25 Robert Haus, A soape boyler

Theis &c. &c, imbarqued in the Abigail, Richard Hackwell, master, &c. &c. &c. &c.

Tho. Buttolph,	32	Nathaniell Tyly,	32
uxor Ann Buttolph,	24	Peter Kettell,	10
Wm. Fuller,	25	Tho. Steevens,	12
Jo. Fuller,	15	Elizabeth Harding,	12"

Then follow names on more than two pages for Barbados ; and on p. 54 comes for "New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth & Ann, Roger Cooper, master, &c. &c. &c.

Samuell Hall,	25	Vyncent Potter,	21
Wm. Smyndes,	20	Ric'd Goare,	17
Jo. Halsey,	24	Wm. Adams,	15
		Hilary Carter,	27

7 May, in the Elizabeth & Ann, pred. Roger Cooper, master, &c. &c. &c. &c.

John Mylne,	25	George Orris,	21
Jo. Thomson,	22	Jo. Jackson,	27
Edmond Weston,	30	Elizabeth Fabin,	16
Gamaliell Bement,	12	Grace Bulkley,	33"
Audry Whitton,	45		

On p. 55, after a short list of soldiers, "Nono die Maii, Theis underwritten &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Suzan & Ellin, Edward Payne, master &c. &c. &c. &c.

	Yeres.		
Peter Bulkley,	50	Rich'd Brooke,	24
Tho. Brooke,	20	Elizabeth Taylor,	10
Precilla Jarman,	10	Ann Lieford,	13

In the Elizabeth & Ann, pred. Roger Cooper, master, bound for New England.

		Yeres.				
wife and 3 children,	{	Robert Jeofferies,	30	Hanna Day,	20 } 2 maid ser-	
		Marie Jeofferies,	27	Suzan Browne,	21 } vants.	
		Tho. Jefferies,	7	Robert Carr,	21 } A Taylor.	
		Elizabeth Jefferies,	6	Calebb Carr,	11	} Carpenters."
		Mary Jefferies,	3	Ric'd White,	30	
		Tho. Dane,	32			
				Wm. Hilliard,	21	

Then three soldiers to Holland.

P. 56. "11 May Theis, &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth & Ann, pred. &c. &c. &c. &c.

A shoemaker	Willm. Courser,	26	A carpenter	Geo. Parker,	23
A husbandman	Geo. Wylde,	37			

12 May. In the Elizabeth & Ann, Roger Cooper, master, bound to New England. Theis underwritten names, &c. per certificate from the minister of Beninden in Kent of their conformity, &c. &c.

John Borden,	28	Jeremy Whitton,	8
uxor Joan,	23	Mathew Borden,	5

Nico. Morecock,	14	Elizabeth Borden,	3
Bennett Morecock,	16	Thomas Whitton,	36
Marie Morecock,	10	Samuell Baker,	30

14 May. Theis, &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth & Ann, Roger Cooper, master, &c. &c. &c.

A Taylor	Richard Samson, Tho. Alsopp,	Yeares.			
		28	John Oldham,	12	
		20	Tho. Oldham,	10	
			Rob't Standy,	22"	

Next follow eleven lists of soldiers, for various service, then a list for Virginea, another, quite long, for St. Christophers, a second for Virginea, a short one for Flanders, a third, very long, for Virginea, and a very long list for Bermuda ; and, p. 68, comes " 15 June. Theis, &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Abigall de Lond. master H. Hackwell. The partie having brought certificate from the minister of Thesselworth, &c. &c. &c.

wife and 2 children.	{		Yeares.		
		Dennis Geere,	30	Ann Pancrust,	46
		Elizabeth Geere	22	Elizabeth Tusler,	55
		Elizabeth Geere,	3	Constant Wood,	12"
		Sara Geere,	2		

Next follow three lists of soldiers.

P. 69. " 19 June. Theis, &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Abigall, Hackwell, master, the parties having brought certificate from the min. of the parish of the little Minories of his conf. &c. &c.

	Yeares.		
Wm. Tilly,	28	Charles Jones,	21
Robert Whiteman,	20	Liddia Browne,	16

Aboard the James, Jo. May, for New England.

Taylor	Tho. Ewer,	40	Sara Beale,	28
	Sara Ewer,	28	Elizabeth Newman,	24
	Elizabeth Ewer,	4	Jo. Skudder,	16
	Tho. Ewer,	1½		

20 June. Theis, &c. to be imbarqued in the Abigall de Lond. Hackwell, and bound to New England, have taken, &c. &c. as per certif. from two Justices of peace and minister of St. Lawrence in Essex.

3 children,	{	Henry Bullocke,	40 yrs. husbandman.
		and Susan his wife,	42
		Henry,	8
		Mary,	6
		Tho.	2

20th. In the Defence de Lond., Mr. Peirce, and bound for New England, per certificate from two Justices of Peace and minister of All Saints leoman in Northampton.

Wm. Hoeman,	40 yrs. husbandman,	{	Hanna,	8
his wife Winifrid,	35		Jeremy,	6
Alice Ashley,	20 yrs. a maid servant.		Mary,	4
			Sarra,	2
			Abraham,	1 yrs.

20 June. In the Abigall de Lond. master Hackwell, bound for New England, per certificate, &c. from two Justices of Peace and minister of Eaton Bray in com. Bedford.

Jo. Houghton, 4 yeares old.

7 July. In the Defence de Lond., master Edward Bostocke versus New England, per certificate two Justices of peace and minister from Dunstable in com. Bedfordshire.

	Robert Louge,	45 yrs inholder	Lucy Mercer, 18 a servant.
	Elizabeth his wife,	30	
{	Michell,	20	
	Sarra,	18	
	Robert,	16	
	Eliza,	12	
	Ann,	10	
	Mary,	9	
	Rebecca,	8	
	Jo.	6	
Zachery,	4		
Joshua,	3 quarts old.		

In the Defence de Lond. master Pearce versus New England, per certificate, &c. &c. &c. of Towcester in com. Northampton.

Jo. Gould, 25 yrs. husbandman. Grace his wife, 25 yrs.

22 June. In the Abbigall de Lond. master Hackwell versus New England per certificate from minister of Cranbrook in Kent.

	Edward White,	42 yrs. husbandman.	
and his wife	Martha,	39	Jo. Allen, 30 yrs husbandman
2 children,	{ Martha,	10	his wife Ann, 30
	{ Mary,	8	

} per certificate from (illegible) in Kent.

In the Abbigall per certificate from Justice of Peace and minister of Stepney.

	Geo. Hadborne,	43 yrs. Glover.	
his wife	Anne,	46	Joseph Borebancke, 24
2 children,	{ Rebecca,	10	Joane Jordan, 16
	{ Anna,	4	

} servants to Geo. Hadborne.

In the Defence de Lond. master Edward Boswell versus New England, per certificate from Sir Henry Mildmay and minister of Baddow in Essex.

Jo Browne, 27 yers Taylor.
 his 3 servants, { Tho. Hart, 24
 { Mary Denny, 21
 { Anne Leake, 19

26 Junii. In the Abigall, Robert Hackwell, master, to New England, per certificate from Northampton Tho. Martin maior and two Justices.

Shoemaker	Jo. Harbert,	23	Bricklayer	Richard Adams,	29
	4 July Henry Somner,	15		Suzan Adams,	26
	Elisa Somner,	18			

17 June. Theis, &c. to New England imbarqued in the Abigall, Robert Hackwell, master, per certificate, &c. &c. &c.

Ralph Wallis,	40 yeres.	Mary Monnings,	30
Ralph Roote,	50	Mary Monnings,	9
Jno. Freeman,	35	Anna Mannings	6
Walter Gatsell,	34	Mehitabell Mannings,	3
Richard Graves,	23	Elizabeth Ellis,	16
Robert More,	43	Ellin Jones,	36
Samuell More,	3	Isack Jones,	8
Edmund Manning,	40	Hester Jones,	6
Tho. Jones,	40	Tho. Jones,	3
Geo. Dedmen,	19	Sara Jones,	3 mo.
Wm. Marshall,	40	Cegona Covell,	15
Thomas Knore,	33	Joan Wall,	19
John Hallinck,	38	Wm. Payne,	15
George Wallis,	15	Noll Knore,	29
Rebecca Peirse,	14	Sara Knore,	7
Marie Freeman,	50	Rob't Driver,	8
Jo. Freeman,	9	Elizabeth More,	30
Sycillie Freeman,	4	John More,	3 mo.
Jo. West,	11		

Also,

	Christopher Foster,	32	Chr. Almie,	3
uxor	Francis Foster,	25	John Strowde,	15
	Rebecca Foster,	5	Edward Rainsford,	26
Children, {	Nathaniell Foster,	2	Robert Sharp,	20
	Jo. Foster,	1	John Rookeman,	45
	Edward Ireson,	32	Elizabeth Rookman,	31
	Wm. Almond,	34	Jo. Rookeman,	9
	Mary Jones,	30	Hugh Burt,	35
	Awdrey Almond,	32	Ann Burt,	32
	Annis Almy,	8	Wm. Bassett,	9
	Edward Burt,	8	Jo. Fox,	35
	Tho. Freeman,	24	Richard Fox,	15
	Wm. Yates,	14	Jo. Payne,	14
	Elizabeth Ireson,	27	Edmund Freeman,	45

Theis, &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Blessing, Jo. Leicester master, &c. &c. &c. &c.

Willm. Cope,	26	Nico. Robertson,	30
Richard Cope,	24	Jo. Mory,	19
Thomas King,	21	Charles Sturbridge,	1
Jo. Stockbridge,	27	James Saiewell,	1½
Robert Saiewell,	30	Jo. Robinson,	5
Wm. Brooke,	20	Ann Stockbridge,	21
Gilbert Brooke,	14	Suzan Saiewell,	25
Nathaniell Byham,	14	Ann Vassall,	42
Jo. Vassall,	10	Suzan King,	30
Wm. Vassall,	42	Judith Vassall,	16
Ric'd More,	20	Sara Tynkler,	15
Robert Turner,	24	Fra. Vassall,	12
Eliza. Holly,	30	Thomazin Manson,	14
Ann Vassall,	6	Kat. Robinson,	12
Margaret Vassall,	2	Mary Robinson,	7
Mary Vassall,	1	Rob't. Onyon,	26"
Elizabeth Robinson,	32		
Sara Robinson,	1½		

Then follow two long lists for Virginia.

P. 76. "ultimo Junii. Abord the Abigall, Robert Hackwell, master, per certificate from the minister of Stepney parish, &c. &c. &c. &c.

Starchmaker	Henry Collins,	29 yeres.	Josua Griffith,	25	servants.
uxor	Ann Collins,	30	Hugh Allers,	27	
3 children,	Henry Collins,	5	Mary Roote,	15	
	Jo. Collins,	3	Jo. Coke,	27	
	Margery Collins,	2	Geo Bardin,	20	

In the same

	Yeres.	
Edward Fountaine,	28	} wife and daughter.
Ralph Sheppard,	29	
Thanks Sheppard,	23	
Sara Sheppard,	2	

Primo die Julii. In the Abigall pred.

	Ann Gillam,	28	John Cooke,	15	servants.
son	Ben. Gillam,	1	Edward Belcher,	8	
husbandman	Thomas Brane,	40	Ann Williams,	10	
	Tho. Launder,	22	Phillip Drinker,	39	
husbandman	William Potter,	27	Elizabeth Drinker,	32	
uxor	Francis Potter,	26	Edward Drinker,	13	
	Joseph Potter,	20 weeks.	Jo. Drinker,	8	
	Rich'd Carr,	29	Margaret Tucker,	23	
	Wm. King,	28	Elliner Hillman,	33	
	George Ram,	25	Jo. Terry,	32	
	Jo. Stantley,	34	Jo. Emerson,	20	
	James Dodd,	16	Ric'd. Woodman,	9	
	Mathew Abdy,	15	Elizabeth Freeman,	12	
husbandman	Edward Freeman,	34	Alice Freeman,	17	
uxor	Elizabeth Freeman,	35	Hugh Burt,	15	

Edmond Freeman,	15	Annis Alecock,	18
John Freeman,	8	Tho. Thomson,	18
Jo. Jones,	15		

Secundo die July In the Abigall pred. per certificate from the minister of Shoreditch parish and Stepney parish, bound to New England.

John Deyking,	25	Ann Arnold,	39
Jesper Arnold,	40	Alice Steevens,	22
Alice Deyking,	30	Margaret Devotion,	9
		Ruth Buskett,	23

Theis &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Defence, Tho. Bostock, master, the partie hath brought &c. &c. in Cambridge.

A Taylor	Adam Mott,	39	Jo. Mott,	14	} children.
uxor	Sara Mott,	31	Adam Mott,	12	
mason	Henry Steevens,	24	Jonathan Mott,	9	
husbandman	John Sheppard,	36	Elizabeth Mott,	6	
	Margaret Sheppard,	31	Mary Mott,	4	
	Tho. Sheppard,	3mo.			

In the Defence pred. Tho. Bostock, master, for New England per certificate from the minister of Fenchurch of &c. &c. &c.

Tho. Boylston, 20 yeres.

4 July In the Abigall de Lond. per certif. from the min. and Justice of peace of St. Olives Southwark.

	Ralph Mason	35 yeres	Joyner
	His wife Anne,	35 yers	
3 child.	{ Richard	5 yers	
	{ Samuell	3 yers	
	{ Susan	1 yere	

In the Defence pred.

Elizabeth French,	30	Francis French,	10
Elizabeth French,	6	Jo. French,	5mo.
Marie French,	2½		

4 July. In the Defence de Lond. master Thomas Bostocke vs. New England per cert. &c. &c. &c.

Roger Harlackenden, aged 23 toke oathe of allegiance and supremacie.

Eliza, his wife	18	Anne Wood, his servant,	23	} servants to the aforesaid Roger Herla- kenden.
* Mable, his sister	21	Samuell Shepherd, servant,	22	
		Joseph Cocke,	27	
		Geo. Cocke,	25	
		Wm. French,	30	
		Elisa, his wife,	32	
		Robert, a man servant,		
		Sarra Simes,	30	

* Govr. Haynes married Mabell Harlackenden, I believe.

6 July In the Defence de Lo. master Tho. Bostocke vs. New England.

Jo. Jackson 30 yers wholesale man in Burchen lane per certif. from Sir Geo. Whitmore & minister of the parish.

10 July In the Abigall, Richard Hackwell, master, per certificate &c. &c. &c. &c.

John Wyntropp,	27 ^{yeres.}	Tho. Goad,	15
Elizabeth Winthrop,	19	Elizabeth Epps,	13
Deane Winthrop,	11	Mary Lyne,	6

In the Defence pred. per certif. &c. &c. &c.

A Taylor James Fitch, 30

Abigall Fitch, 24"

Then follow a long list of soldiers to Flanders, and two very long lists to Virginea; next p. 83. "11 die July. Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Defence of London, Edward Bostock, master, per cert. &c. &c. &c.

A miller Richard Peck,	33	} yeres.	Henry Duhurst,	35
Margery Peck,	40			
Israel Peck,	7			
Elizabeth Peck,	4			

14 July. In the Defence de Lond. master Edmond Bostocke vs. New England, per certif. &c. &c. &c.

Robert Hill 20 yers. servant to Mr. Craddocke.

17 July. Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Pied Cowe, per cert. from the minister of his conformitie, & from Sir Edward Spencer resident neere Branford, that &c. &c. &c. &c.

Willm. Harrison,	55 yeres old.
Jo. Baldin,	13
Wm. Baldin,	9

Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Defence pred. per cert. &c. &c. &c. &c.

Sara Jones,	34	husbandman	Wm. Hubbard,	40
Sara Jones,	15		Judith Hubbard,	25
Jo. Jones,	11		John Hubbard,	15
Ruth Jones,	7		Wm. Hubbard,	13
Theophilus Jones,	3		Wm. Read,	48
Rebecca Jones,	2		Mabell Read,	30
Elizabeth Jones,	$\frac{1}{2}$		George Read,	6
Tho. Doun,	25		Ralph Read,	5
Suzanna Farebrother,	25		Justice Read,	18mo.

Elizabeth Fennick,	25	Dorothee Knight,	30
Wm. Stanley,	25	Nathaniell Hubbard,	6
Martha Hubbard,	22	Richard Hubbard,	4
Mary Hubbard,	20	Jasper Goun,	29
Robert Colburne,	28	Ann Goun,	25
Edward Colburn,	17	Febe Maulder,	7
Dorothe Adams,	24	Sym. Roger,	20
Francis Nutbrowne,	16	Jo. Jenkynn,	26
Wm. Williamson,	25	Robert Keyne,	40
Marie Willimson,	23	Elizabeth Steerer,	18
Luce Mercer,	19	Sara Knight,	50
Jo. Fitch,	14	Ann Keyne,	38
Penelope Deno,	29	Ben Keyne,	16
Martha Banes,	20	Jo. Burles,	27
		Mary Bentley,	20

Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the James,
Jno. May, master, for New England, per certif. &c. &c. &c.

husbandman	Wm. Ballard,	32	wheelwright	Wm. Hill,	70
	Elizabeth Ballard,	26		Nico. Buttny,	33
	Hester Ballard,	2		Martha Buttny,	28
	Jo. Ballard,	1		Grace Buttny,	1
	Alice Jones,	26	shoemaker	Jo. Hart,	40
	Elizabeth Goffe,	26		Mary Hart,	31
	Edmond Bridges,	23	shoemaker	Henry Tybbott,	39
	Michell Milner,	23		Elizabeth Tibott,	39
	Tho. Terry,	28		Jeremy Tybbott,	4
	Robert Terry,	25		Samuell Tybbott,	2
	Richd. Terry,	17		Remembrance Tybbott,	28
	Tho. Marshall,	22	clothworker	Nico. Goodhue,	60
	Wm. Hooper,	18		Jane Goodhew,	58
	Edmond Johnson,	23		John Johnson,	26
	Samuel Bennett,	24		Suzan Johnson,	24
	Richd. Palmer,	29		Elizabeth Johnson,	2
	Anto. Bessy,	26		Tho. Johnson,	18mo.
	Edward Gardner,	25	Barber	Ralph Farman,	32
	Wm. Colbron,	16		Alice Farman,	28
	Henry Bull,	25		Mary Farman,	7
	Salomon Martin,	16		Tho. Farman,	4
				Ralph Farman,	2

Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Bles-
sing, John Lester, master, the parties have &c. &c.

fisherman	Jo. Jackson,	40	Mary Hubbard,	24
	Margaret Jackson,	36	Mary Spratt,	20
	John Jackson,	2	Richd. Hallingworth,	40
	Jo. Manifold,	17	Suzan Hallingworth,	30
	John Burles,	26	Christian Hunter,	20
	Jo. Fitch,	14	Eliz. Hunter,	18
	Nico. Long,	19	Tho. Hunter,	14
	Christian Buck,	26	Wm. Hunter,	11
	Barnabie Davies,	36	Wm. Hollingworth,	7
	Suzan Danes,	16	Ric. Hallingworth,	4
	Robert Lewes,	28	Suzan Hallingworth,	2
	Eliz. Lewes,	22	Eliz. Hallingworth,	3

Edward Ingram,	18	Tho. Trentum,	14
Henry Beck,	18	Tho. Biggs,	13
Jo. Hathoway,	18	Jo. Briggs,	20
Richard Sexton,	14	Robt. Lewes,	28
		Eliz. Lewes,	22

Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Love, Joseph Young, master.

Baker Willm. Cherrall,	26	Sara Harman,	10
Ursula Cherrall,	40	Walter Parker,	18
Jo. Harman,	12	fisherman Willm. Browne,	26
Francis Harman,	43	Mary Browne,	26"

After one list for Virginea and three lists for Flanders comes this entry :

"23 July. This &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Pied Cowe, master Ashley, &c. &c. &c.

husbandman Robert Bills, 32."

A list for Flanders follows, and then on p. 88 :

"28 July. Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Hopewell of London, Tho. Babb, master, per cert. from the minister of St. Giles, Cripplegate, that &c. &c. &c. &c.

A smith	Thomas Tredwell,	yeres 30	Tho. Blackley,	yeres 20
	Mary Tredwell,	30	Tho. Tredwell,	1"

Then come a long list for Flanders and four very long for Virginea.

P. 95. "11 Augti. In the Batcheler de Lo. master Tho. Webb vs. New England, Lyon Gardner 36 yers & his wife Mary 34 yers & Elisa. Colet 23 yers their maid servant, & Wm. Jope 40 yers, who are to pass to New England, have brought &c. &c. &c."

After a long list for Flanders and two quite long for Virginea, comes on p. 101 :

"21 Augti. In the Hopewell de Lo. master Babb vs. New England, Henry Maudsley 24 yers hath brought &c. &c. &c."

Next follow a long list for Holland, two long ones for Virginea, a long one for St. Christophers, and another for Virginea ; but on p. 107 comes :

"11 Sepr. Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Hopewell, Tho. Babb master, per cert. &c. &c.

		yeres.			
husbandman	William Wood,	27		Andrew Hulls,	29
	Elizabeth Wood,	24		Anthony Freeman,	22
	Jo. Wood,	26		Twiford West,	19
	Robert Chambers,	13		Roger Toothaker,	23
	Tho. Jno'son,	25		Margaret Toothaker,	28
	Marie Hubbard,	24		Roger Toothaker,	1
	Jo. Kerbie,	12		Robert Withie,	20
	Jo. Thomas,	14		Henry Ticknall,	15
	Isack Robinson,	15	harnesmaker	Isack Heath,	50
	Ann Williamson,	18		Elizabeth Heath,	40
Tanner	Jo. Weekes,	26		Elizabeth Heath,	5
	Marie Weekes,	28		Martha Heath,	30
	Anna Weekes,	1		Wm. Lyon,	14
	Suzan Withie,	18		Grace Stokes,	20
	Robert Baylie,	23		Tho. Bull,	25
	Marie Withie,	16		Joseph Miller,	15
	Samuel Younglove,	30		Jo. Prier,	15
	Margaret Younglove,	28		Richard Hatley,	15
	Samuel Younglove,	1		Mary With,	62
	Daniell Pryer,	13		Robert Edwards,	22
	Katherin Hull,	23		Robert Edye,	25
	Mary Clark,	16		Walter Lloyd,	27
	Jo. Marshall,	14		Ellin Leaves,	17
	Joan Grave,	30		Alice Albon,	25
	Mary Grave,	26		Barbery Rose,	20
	Joan Clevon,	18		Jo. Foster,	14
	Edmond Chippfield,	20		Gabriell Reld,	18
				—	54

20 Sept. Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Truelove, Jo. Gibbs, master, &c. &c. &c. &c.

Labouring man	}		yeres.			
		Thomas Burchard,	40		Zacha. Whitman,	2½
		Mary Burchard,	38		Rebecca Fenner,	25
		Elizabeth Burchard,	13		Tho. Tibbalds,	20
		Marie Burchard,	12		Thomas Streme,	15
		Sara Burchard,	9		Jo. Streme,	14
		Suzan Burchard,	8	husbandman	Ralph Tomkins,	50
		Jo. Burchard,	7	uxor	Kat. Tomkins,	58
		Ann Burchard,	18mo.		Elizabeth Tomkins,	18
		Peter Place,	20		Marie Tomkins,	14
		Wm. Beresto,	23		Samuel Tomkins,	22
		Geo. Beresto,	21		Richard Hawes,	29
husbandman		Edward Howe,	60		Ann Hawes,	26
		Elizabeth Howe,	50		Anna Hawes,	2½
		Jeremie Howe,	21		Obediah Hawes,	6mo
		Sara Howe,	12		Ralph Ellwood,	28
		Ephraim Howe,	9		Geo. Tayler,	31
		Isack Howe,	7		Elizabeth Jenkins,	27
		Wm. Howe,	6		Wm. Preston,	44
		Jo. Sedgwick,	24		Marie Preston,	34
		Jeremy Blackwell,	18		Eliz. Preston,	11
		Lester Gunter,	13		Sara Preston,	8
		Zacharia Whitman,	40		Marie Preston,	6
		Sara Whitman,	25		Jo. Preston,	3

William Bentley,	47
Alice Bentley,	15
Margaret Killinghall,	20
Jo. Bentley,	17
Tho. Stockton,	21
Geo. Morrey,	23
Richard Swayne,	34
Sarah Haile,	11
Samuel Grover,	16
Robert Browne,	24
Tho. Blower,	50

Wm. Joes,	28
Edward Jefferies,	24
John Done,	17
Roger Broome,	16
Dorothie Lowe,	13
Jo. Simpson,	30
Tho. Brighton,	31
Tho. Rumball,	22
Edward Parrie,	24
Jane Walston,	19
—	66"

Then follows a list of 95 to Barmodos, then a list of 33 to St. Christophers, another of 105 to same, another of 85 to Virginea, another of 51 to same, another of 205 to Barbados, five lists of soldiers, and, lastly, one of 46 and one of 32 for Barbados, and so the volume ends.

It was not in my power to recollect the authority, under which the formality was adopted, that led to such a happy result as the formation of this volume, from which I have taken every name of persons, embarked for New England. Many errors in spelling are not chargeable to me, for the writers at the custom-house soon became careless of executing their orders. The chance of mistake, too, was increased by the rule, that requires all transcripts at the Record Office to be taken in pencil, after which, at my lodgings, this copy was copied with a pen. My first memorandum book is, of course, in some degree become indistinct, and may hardly be worth preserving many months. It may be, that two of the servants of Harlackenden, here written Cocke, may have been called *Cook* before or after settling at Cambridge; and it is quite probable that, to evade the despicable tyranny of the regulations, a true description of the persons was sometimes concealed. Peter Bulkley was not called a minister, because his departure, perhaps, would have been forbidden. We know, in this voyage of the Abigail, forty passengers, more than are here mentioned, came over, some of whom thought best, no doubt, to be taken in, like Hugh Peters, after the clearance of the vessel.

Several weeks later, in a book, found at the London Institution, History of Sandwich, by Wm. Boys, printed at Canterbury, M.D.C.C.C.XCII (manifest error for 1792) in a part of the work, called Annals of Sandwich from A. D. 665, sub anno 1634, beginning each year on the first Mon-

day after the feast of St. Andrew, as the municipal year is counted by the mayoralty of that borough, p. 707, the text threw this light on the matter of my doubt: "A letter from the commissioners of plantations prohibiting the promiscuous passing of his Majesty's subjects to the American plantations: no subsidy men to pass without a license, nor other persons without attestation from two justices. A return of the names of 102 persons embarked at Sandwich for New England."

Reference is here made in the lower margin to Appendix J. page 750 of the volume, which reads, "A list or register of all such persons as embarked themselves in the good ship called the *Hercules* of Sandwich, of the burthen of 200 tons, John Witherley, master, and therein transported from Sandwich to the plantation called New England in America, with the certificates from the ministers where they last dwelt of their conversation, and conformity to the orders and discipline of the church, and that they had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy."

CERTIFICATES.	MASTERS OF FAMILIES.	CHILDREN.	SERVANTS.
From Mr. Jno. Gee, vicar of Tenterden, 26 feb. 1634. Jno. Austin, mayor, Tenterden, and Fregift Stace, jurat, 4 mar. 1634.	Nathaniel Tilden, of Tenterden, yeoman, and Lydia, his wife.	Seven by name.*	Seven by name.*
Mr. Jno. Gee, 1st mar. 1634. Jno. Austin, mayor, and Fregift Stace, jurat, 4 mar. 1634.	Jonas Austen, of Tenterden, and Constance, his wife.	Four.	
Samuel Marshall, mayor of Maidstone, Tho. Swinnok, jurat, Edw. Duke and Rob. Barrel, ministers, 14 mar. 1634.	Rob. Brook, of Maidstone, mercer, and Ann, his wife.	Seven.	
William Colepeper, Caleb Bancks, Edw. Duke, Hen. Crispe, Franc. Froiden, cler. 14 mar. 1634.	Tho. Heyward, of Aylesford, taylor, and Susanah, his wife.	Five.	
Sam. Marshal, mayor of Maidstone, Tho. Swinnuck, Edw. Duke and Rob. Barrel, cl. 14 mar. 1634.	Will. Witherell, of Maidstone, schoolmaster, and Mary, his wife.	Three.	One.
Edw. Chute, Edm. Hayes, vicar of Ashford, Elias Wood, parson of Hinxhill, 4th mar. 1634.	Fannett of Ashford, hemp dresser.		
Mr. Tho. Warren, rector of St. Peter, in Sandwich, 14th mar. 1634.	Tho. Boney and Hen. Ewell, of Sandwich, shoemakers.		

* In the original, we may presume, the name of each child and servant, perhaps the age also, was given; but that was beyond my reach. The printed book is carefully copied.

CERTIFICATES.	MASTERS OF FAMILIES.	CHILDREN.	SERVANTS.
Mr. Tho. Gardener, vicar of St. Mary's, Sandwich, 17th mar. 1634.	Will. Hatch, of Sandwich, merchant, and Jane, his wife.	Five.	Six.
Mr. Jno. Gee, vicar of Tenterden, Jn. Austin, mayor, Fregift Stace, jurat, 15th mar. 1634.	Sam. Hinkley, of Tenterden, and Sarah, his wife.	Four.	
Mr. Tho. Warren, rector of St. Peter, Sandwich, 14th mar. 1634.	Isaac Cole, of Sandwich, carpenter, and Joan, his wife.	Two.	
Edm. Hayes, vicar of Ashford, 21st mar. 1634.			A servant.
Edm. Hayes, vicar, 12th mar. 1634.	Tho. Champion, of Ashford.		
Tho. Warren, rector of St. Peter, Sandwich, 13th mar. 1634. Tho. Harman, vicar of Hedcorn, 6 Mar. 1634.	Tho. Besbeeck, of Sandwich.	Six.	Three.
Jno. Gee, vicar of Tenterden, 20 feb. 1634. Jno. Austin, mayor, and Fregift Stace jurat, 1st mar. 1634.	Jno. Lewis, of Tenterden, and Sarah, his wife.	One.	
Jos. Leeth, vicar of Bow, London, 19th mar. 1634.	Parnel Harris, of Bow, London.		
Edw. Nicholls, vicar of Northbourn, 2d feb. 1634.	James Sayers, of Northbourn, taylor.		
Edm. Hayes, vicar of Ashford, 21 mar. 1634. Jno. Honnywood, Tho. Godfrey, justices.	Comfort Starre, of Ashford, chirurgion.	Three.	Three.
Rob. Gorsham, curate of Great Chart, 20 mar. 1634.	Jos. Rootes, of Great Chart.		
Will. Sandford, rector of Eastwell, 16 mar. 1634.	Em. Mason, of Eastwell, wid.		
Mr. Tho. Gardiner, vicar of St. Mary's, Sandwich, 26 mar. 1634.	Margt. wife of Will Johnes, late of Sandwich, now of New England, painter.		
Tho. Jackson, minister of St. George's, Canterbury, ult. feb. 1634.	Jno. Best, of the said parish, taylor.		
Jno. Phillips, minister of Faversham, 5th mar. 1634. Jno. Knowler, mayor, and Will. Thurston, jurat.	Tho. Bridgen, of Faversham, husbandman, and his wife.	Two.	

Again, in the body of the work, sub. an. 1636, following the before-explained mode of reckoning, we read, p. 708: "A list of 80 persons who have taken passage from Sandwich to the American plantations."

The margin refers to Appendix K, which I copy from p. 752; "A true roll or list of the names, surnames and qualities of all such persons who have taken passage from the town and port of Sandwich for the American plantations since the last certificate of such passengers returned into the office of Dovor castle." Probably the phrase may safely be confined to New England.

- “ Thomas Starr, of Canterbury, yeoman, and Susan, his wife, 1 child.
 Edward Johnson, of Canterbury, joiner, and Susan, his wife, 7 children, 3 servants.
 Nicholas Butler, of Eastwell, yeoman, and Joice, his wife, 3 children, 5 servants.
 Samuel Hall, of Canterbury, yeoman, and Joan, his wife, 3 servants.
 Henry Bachelor, of Dovor, brewer, and Martha, his wife, 4 servants.
 Joseph Bachelor, of Canterbury, taylor, and Elizabeth, his wife, 1 child, 3 servants.
 Henry Richardson, of Canterbury, carpenter, and Mary, his wife, 5 children.
 Jarvis Boykett, of Charington, carpenter, 1 servant.
 John Bachelor, of Canterbury, taylor.
 Nathaniel Ovell, of Dovor, cordwinder, 1 servant.
 Thomas Calle, of Faversham, husbandman, and Bennett, his wife, 3 children.
 William Eaton, of Staple, husbandman, and Martha, his wife, 3 children, 1 servant.
 Joseph Coleman, of Sandwich, shoemaker, and Sara, his wife, 4 children.
 Matthew Smith, of Sandwich, cordwinder, and Jane, his wife, 4 children.
 Marmaduke Peerce, of Sandwich, taylor, and Mary, his wife, 1 servant.

“ Certified under the seal of office of mayoralty, 9th june, 1637.”

It seems, then, that the Commissioners of Plantations introduced this regulation, of which, as that Committee of the Privy Council had for its head William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, we may be confident, the principal object was, to embarrass the puritan ministers desirous of coming to our country. His elevation to the primacy was in September, 1633, and next year this Commission was instituted. How utterly ineffectual was such petty statemanship, may be known by a reference to the names of distinguished men, who came passengers in these same ships, but not entered in the lists. Power thus used was altogether illegal; but as it failed of its purpose, we may now rejoice in the attempt, that has furnished us so valuable a document. No similar volume could be heard of in England, and only a single other return was found by me, which will be given in a few pages onward.

A mine of unexhausted information about our country is contained in the volumes, printed and manuscript, at the British Museum, and in the exploration of the latter my little success should not discourage more hardy or patient adventurers. References casually offering may lead to treasure.

Eagerly did my eye explore the page 65. b. in the Harleian MSS. 7033, where the hope was held out, that something might be learned of our apostle Eliot, and it was found, to my grievous disappointment, to be only abbreviation of Cotton Mather.

In Harl. MSS. 5801, inscribed on its titlepage, "A catalogue of the Knights made from the first year of the reign of King Charles the 2d, during all his reign, those of King James the 2d, King William and Queen Mary, with their pedigrees, collected by Peter Le Neve, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, 7 Aug. 1696, in two volumes," fol. 12 b., I find, "Cambridge, Sir George Downing of Gamlingay, Cambr. Kted at the Hague, May 1660. He was after a baronet. See amongst my books of baronets. See his character in Anthony A Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 2d vol." It was an agreeable thing to find, that some former possessor of this volume had written on the titlepage: "Rem nullam peragit Le Nevius, incipit omnem. Heraldry a study which only loads the memory, without improving the understanding."

Harl. MSS. 5802, fol. 23, affords me only this: "Phipps, Sir William, Captain of _____, Knighted at Windsor Castle 28 June 1687."

From MSS. 5808 Plut. cxix. D, being vol. vii. of Coles's MSS. p. 36, where is duly illuminated, or *tricked off*, (as the phrase is) the coat of arms of our George Downing, I extract this account: "The Worshipful & Honorable Sr. George Downing, Baronet, Knight of the Bath, and Justice of the Peace for ye County of Cambridge.

He died at his fine seat at Gamlingay, June 9, Friday, 1749, where he had been confined with the Gout for a long Time, leaving only one natural Daughter, to whom he left about 20,000 pounds, and the mother of her 200 pounds per ann. His great Estate, the largest of any Gentleman or Nobleman in this county he left to Jacob Garrard Downing, Esq. who if he dies with" [without?] "lawful Heirs, it goes to Serjeant Barnardiston with the like Proviso, & in case neither" [both?] "of these Gentlemen, both unmarried & advanced in years, die without lawful Issue, the whole Estate Sir George has bequeathed to the University of Cambridge in order to build & endow a new College where his Executors shall think proper. The Estate is supposed to be 6000 pounds per annum. A Ring I have seen for him says he died June 10, 1749. He was married young & never cohabited with his wife; & for the latter Part of his Life led a most miserable, covetous & sordid Life."

I can imagine the delight of an enthusiast of such severe

tember, as Hugh Peters, at this termination of the male lineal descendant of the first Sir George, which he might naturally regard as the retributive justice of one "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me."

Far superior in value to such trifles is a MS. 4to. volume in the splendid library of George III, presented to the Nation by George IV, now at this noble Museum. A fair transcript of the whole volume is permitted to be used. On 26 Sept. I copied the Titlepage and the story of the work: "Letters from Dr. Franklin to the Reverend Doctor Cooper, Minister of the Gospel in the Town of Boston in New England, in the years 1769, 70, 71, 72, 73 and 1774, upon the subject of American Politics, together with Dr. Cooper's Answers, and some few Letters from Govr. Pownall to Dr. Cooper upon the same subject; to which is added a short History of those Letters, or an account of the manner, in which they happened to fall into the hands of the present possessor of them."

A note in volume vii., p. 440, of the elegant Edition of Franklin's Works, by Professor Sparks, our fellow laborer, contains a slight error, in saying this collection was seized by a British officer in Boston; or if the person, who transcribed for the accomplished Editor the letters of Dr. Franklin, intended to characterize as a seizure the acts of the late Dr. Jeffries in preserving them, and, after reaching London, presenting them to Mr. Thompson, (the gentleman, it is presumed, afterwards so well known as Count Rumford,) the term must be construed in sensu mitissimo.

Here follows the "Account of the manner in which the following Letters came into the hands of the Person who now possesses them."

"Immediately after the Affair of Lexington, which happened upon the 19th of April, 1775, the Town of Boston was surrounded by the Rebels and all intercourse with the Country was cut off. Those who were in the Town were not allowed to quit it without the permission of the Commander in Chief, and no person was allowed to pass the lines to go into the country without first being searched by Officers appointed by the General for that purpose. At this time many of the leading Men of the disaffected party were still in the Town, and among the rest the Revd. Dr. Cooper,

Minister of the Gospel to one of the Religious Societies in that town, a Man of great weight and influence among the people, who admired him as much for his Abilities, as they respected him on account of his Holy profession, and his exemplary life and conversation. He, with many others, made immediate application for leave to quit the Town, and obtained a Passport for that purpose.

“At this time he had in his possession the Originals of the following Letters from Dr. Franklin, together with the original draughts of his Answers, and a great number of Letters from Gov. Pownall, written the same time, upon the same subject, with the draughts of all his answers to them. Being unwilling to destroy these papers, and afraid of detection if he attempted to take them with him through the Lines, he determined to leave them behind in the hands of a confidential friend, with directions to forward them to him by the first safe conveyance. He accordingly packed them all up together in a bundle, and sent them to Mr. Jeffries, one of the selectmen of Boston, who at that time was sick, and unable to leave the Town. He was confined to his bed, when these papers were brought to him; they were therefore put by in a trunk which contained other things of his own. As soon as Mr. Jeffries was recovered from his illness, he left the Town, and followed the rest of his Party into the Country.

“His son, Dr. John Jeffries, who is now one of the Surgeons to the Hospital at New York, not choosing to take part in the Rebellion, refused to accompany his father into Country. With this Son he left everything that he could not take with him, and among other things the beforementioned trunk, either not knowing or forgetting that it contained a treasure belonging to his friend. This trunk remained near a year in Dr. Jeffries’ possession without his knowing what it contained, till, upon the evacuation of Boston in the month of March following, collecting his effects in order to embark with them for Halifax, he accidentally discovered this packet of Letters, and finding them interesting, took care to preserve them. From Halifax he brought them with him to London in January last, and made a present of them to Mr. Thompson, who now presumes most humbly to lay them at his Majesty’s feet, as a literary as well as a political curiosity.”

Books printed are, however, more encouraging to an enquirer than MSS.; and here may the rarest be, generally, found. Brereton's Relation of Gosnold's Discovery, printed at London, 1602, in 4to., did not engage more than a half minute's attention, because it was known, that our publishing committee for the present volume had obtained a transcript. The information, as to Chr. Levett's Voyage into New England, 4to. London, 1628, of equal diligence, removes the mortification suffered, on being answered, when that tract was asked for, that it was gone to the binders. No little regret must be felt at our numerous deficiencies in works, that would naturally be supposed to be at our command from their comparatively recent publication. At this repository in London the Catalogue (I forget the number of volumes it is contained in, but it must be over fifty folios) shows: "Adams (Amos) A. M. Pastor of the first Church of Roxbury. A concise historical view of the difficulties, hardships and perils which attended the planting and progressive improvements of New England, 8vo. Boston. London, reprinted 1770.

Bradstreet (Lieut. Col.) Impartial Account of Expedition to Fort Frontenac, 8vo. London, 1759." Neither of these books are yet in our library.

The most remarkable treasure in the Museum is a Collection of Books and Pamphlets, printed from 1640 to the Restoration, which was the property of George III. Its Catalogue, written by the collector, fills twelve small folio volumes. My attention being drawn, by one of the Keepers in the department, to this, it seemed desirable, on 30 July, to copy the story of this assiduous laborer, which is an appropriate preface to the first volume of these MSS. entitled "Mr. Thomason about his Collection."

"There have been great charges disbursed and paines taken in an Exact Colleccon of Pamphlets that have been Published from the Beginning of that long and unhappy Parlement which begun November 1640 which doth amount to a very greate Number of Pieces of all Sorts and all Sides from that time until his Majesties happy Restauracon and Coronacon, their Number Consisting of neere Thirty Thousand severall peeces to the very great Charge and greater Care and Paines of him that made the Colleccon.

The use that may be made of them for the Publique both for the present and after Ages, may and will prove of greate Advantage to Posterity, and besides this, there is not the like, and therefore onely fitt for the use of the Kings Maj'tie.

The wch Colleccon will Necessarily Imploy Six Readers att Once, they Consisting of Six Severall Sorts of Paper being as uniformly Bound as if they were but of one Impression of Bookes, it Consists of above Two Thousand severall Volumes all Exactly Marked & Numbered.

The method that hath been Observed throughout is Tyme, and such Exact Care hath been taken that the very day is written upon most of them that they came out.

The Catalogue of them fairely written doe Contain Twelve Volumes in Folio and of the Number aforesaid wch is so many that when they stand in Order according to their Numbers whilst any thing is asked for, and Shewed in the Catalogue, though but of one Sheete of Paper (or lesse) it may be instantly Shewed, this Method is of very greate use and much Ease to the Reader.

In this Number of Pamphlets is Contained neere One hundred Severall peeces that never were Printed on th'one side and on th'other (all or most of wch are on the King's side) wch no man durst venture to Publish here without the Danger of his Ruine.

This Colleccon was so privately Carried on, that it was never knowne that there was such a Designe in hand, the Collector intending them onely for his Maj'ties use that then was, his Maj'tie once having Occasion to use one Pamphlett could no where Obtain or Compasse the Sight of it but from him, wch his Maj'tie haveing seen was very well Satisfied and pleased with the Sight of it, hee comanded a Person of honour (now) neere his Maj'tie that now is, to Restore it Safely to his hands from whome hee had it, who faithfully Restored it together with the Charge his Maj'tie gave him wch was with his owne hands to Returne it to him, and withall Express't a Desire from his then Maj'tie to him that had Begun that worke, that hee should Continue the same, his Maj'tie being very well pleased with the Designe wch was a greate Encouragem't to the Undertaker. Els hee thinks hee should never have been Enduced to have gon through so difficult a Worke wch hee found by Experience

to prove so Chargeable and heavy a Burthen both to himselfe and his Serv'ts that were Employed in that buisines wch Continued above the Space of Twenty yeares in which time hee Buryed three of them who tooke greate Paines both day and night wth him in that tedious Employ'm't.

And that hee might prevent the Discovery of them when the Army was Northward hee Pack't them up in Severall Trunks, and by one or two in a Weeke hee sent them to a Trusty freind in Surrey who safely preserved them, but when the Army was Westward and feareing their Returne that way hee was feigne to have them sent back againe and thence Safely Rec'd them, but durst not keepe them by him the Danger was so greate, but packt them up againe and sent them into Essex, and when the Army Ranged that way to Tripleheath was feigne to send for them back from thence, and not thinking them safe any where in England att last tooke a Ressolucon to send them into Holland for their more safe preservation, but Considering with himselfe what a Treasure it was, upon Second thoughts hee durst not venture them att Sea, but Resolved to place them in his Warehouses in forme of Tables round about the Roomes Covered over with Canvas, Continuing Still without any Intermission his Goeing on nay even then when by the Usurper's Power and Com'and hee was taken out of his Bed and Clapt up Close Prisoner att Whitehall for Seaven weekes Space and above hee still hoping and looking for that Day and time wch thanks bee to God is now come, and there he put a Period to that unparell'd Labour Charge and Paines hee had been att.

Oxford Library keeper (that then was) was in hand with them ab't them a long time, and did hope the Publiq'e Library might Compose them, but that could not bee then Effectted, it rising to so greate a sume as had been Expended on them for so long a time together.

And if that Trayterous Usurper had taken Notice of them by any Informacon, hee to secure them had made and signed an Acquittance for One thousand pounds acknowledged to be Received in parte of that Bargaine, and have sent that Imediately thither, and they to have Challenged by virtue of that as Bought by them who had more Power then hee had that Collected them to have Contended w'th him

for them by the Power that they and their freinds could have made.

All theis hard Shifts and Exigents hath hee been put unto to preserve them, and preserved they are (by Providence) for the use of Succeeding Ages wch will scarce have Faith to Believe that such horrid and most detestable Villanyes were ever Comitted in any Christian Common Wealth since Christianity had a Name."

Then follows a letter from Barlow, newly appointed Bishop of Lincoln, who had been the Librarian at Oxford, and was named one of the Trustees, by the will of the Collector, who died 1666, for the preservation of this remarkable parcel of books. It is addressed, "For ye reverend Mr. Thomason," the son of the gatherer of this treasure, and seemed worth the transcribing :

"My reverend friend,

I am about to leave Oxon (my deare mother) and that excellent and costly Collection of Bookes, which have so longe beene in my hand there. I intreate you either to remove them, or speake to my successor, that they may continue there, till you can otherwise conveniently dispose of them. Had I money to my minde, I would be your Chapman for them ; but the Collection is soe great, and my purse soe little that I cannot compasse it. It is such a Collection (both for the vast number of Bookes, and ye exact method they are bound in) as none has, nor possibly can have, besides your selfe. The use of that Collection might be of exceedinge benefitt to the publique (both Church and State) were it plac'd in some safe Repository, where learned and sober men might have accesse to, and ye use of it. The fittest place for it (both for use and honor) is the Kings, Sir Tho. Bodlies, or some publique Library ; for in such places it might be most safe and usefull. I have longe indeavour'd to find Benefactors and a way to procure it for Bodlies Library, and I doe not despaire but such a way may be found in good time by

your affectionate friend

and Brother,

THOMAS LINCOLNE."

Oxon, Feb. 6, 1676.

Next comes a certificate from the Clerk of the Privy Council, in substance, that his Majesty in Council was

pleased, 15 May 1684, on a petition from Anne Mearne, relict of Samuel Mearne, his Majesty's Stationer, lately deceased, to give leave to dispose of this Collection, and make sale of the said Books as she shall think fit, the petitioner's husband having been commanded by Sir Jos. Williamson, Secretary of State, to purchase the same; and the reasons offered in the petition being "the great charge they cost," and the burthen on the family "by their lying undisposed of so long."

This closing is, surely, disreputable to the character of Charles II. but he had so many heavier sins of ingratitude to the supporters of his father to answer for, that no comment is needed. It would have been agreeable, had the preface pursued the history of the Collection until it came to the possession of George III.

Some of the rare tracts in the Catalogue I think good to give titles of, with the dates marked on them by the gatherer, as the day when he obtained them. Of our Wonder-working Providences the imprint on titlepage is 1654, but Thomason procured a copy nearly four months before the close of 1653, and erased the last figure and substituted a 3. Remembering that this "History of New England" bore the date in our copies, and finding, in the General Catalogue, sub voce New England, a History inserted as printed at London the year before, my curiosity was eager to examine it. It instantly appeared to be the identical work of our Capt. Edward Johnson of Woburn, though it was not known in England, that he was the author. Of a few of these works, generally unattainable on our side of the ocean, an abstract of the subjects may be acceptable.

New Englands Tears for Old Englands Fears. Preached in a Sermon on July 28, 1640, being a day of Pubike Humiliation, appointed by the Churches in behalfe of our Native Country in time of fearful dangers, by William Hooke, Minister of God's word, sometime of Axmouth in Devonshire, now of Taunton in New England. London, 1641. A passage on p. 16 is well adapted to refresh the sensibility of his flock: "There is no Land that claimes our name, but England, wee are distinguished from all the Nations in the world by the name of English. There is no Potentate breathing, that we call our dread Sovereigne, but King CHARLES, nor Lawes of any Land have civilized us,

but Englands; there is no Nation that calls us Countrymen, but the English. Brethren! Did wee not thence draw in our first breath? Did not the Sunne first shine there upon our heads? Did not that Land first beare' us, even that pleasant Island, but for sin, I would say, that Garden of the Lord, that Paradise?" This tract is No. 5 of Vol. XII.

The Retractation of Mr. Charles Chauncy, formerly Minister of Ware in HARFORDSHIRE, wherein is proved the unlawfulness and danger of Rayling in Altars or Communion Tables, written with his own hand before his going to New England in the yeer 1637. Published by his own direction for the satisfaction of all such who either are, or justly might be offended with his scandalous submission, made before the High Commission Court Febr. 11 anno 1635. London, 4to printed 1641. An Address to the Courteous Reader occupiess five pages, the whole tract 39. It is No. 15 in Vol. XXIV.

Plaine Dealing, or newes from New England by Lechford is No. 22 of Vol. XLII.

Newes from New England of a most strange and prodigious birth, brought to Boston in N. E. Oct. the 17, being a true and exact Relation, brought over April 19 1642 by a Gentleman of good worth now resident in London. This is only the short story of Mrs. Dyer's suffering, in twenty-one lines, put into a preposterous publication of five other monstrous births, all comprised in five pages, and the Boston story is longer than either of the others, except the last. It is No. 22 in Vol. LI.

An answer of the Elders of the Church of New England unto nine positions, No. 9 of CXI. came out or was obtained 15 June 1643.

A letter of many ministers in old England requesting the judgment of their brethren in New England. No. 20 of CXVI. July 10.

A short story of the Rise, Reigne and Ruine of the Antinomians &c. This tract contains 66 pages, besides 17 of preface by T. Welde; but an initiatory address "To the Reader" is, "I meeting with this Book, newly come forth of the Presse, and being earnestly pressed by diverse to perfect it, by laying down the order & sense of this story (which in the Book is omitted)" &c. &c. &c. &c. as if the petty dis-

ingenuity could conceal the workmanship. No. 16 of CXLIII. marked 19 Feb. '43.

A letter from New England, written by Mr. Tho. Parker, declaring his judgment touching the government practised in the churches of New England. No. 22 of same vol. got same day.

A brief relation of some church courses in New England. No. 11 of CXLVI. 9 March.

New England's advice to Old England, both their governments compared. 17 of CLXIII. 5 July '44.

Weld's Answer to W. R's narration of the practises of the Churches in N. E. 18 of CLXVII. 27 July.

New England's Lamentations for Old England's present errors. 18 of CXCVIII. March 45.

The way of the Churches of Christ in New England, by Mr. John Cotton. 13 of CC. 4 April.

A brief discovery of Familism. 10 of CCI. 9 April.

A Reply to a Confutation of some grounds for Infants Baptisme, as also concerning the form of a church, put forth against mee by one THOMAS LAMB. Hereunto is added a Discourse of the Verity and validity of Infants Baptisme, wherein I endeavour to clear it in itself; as also in the minister's administring it, and the manner of administration by Sprinkling & not Dipping, with sundry other particulars handled herein. [The title page then quotes Matthew vii. 15 and two long Latin sentences, from August. Enchir. cap. 42 and Hieron. adv. Pelagian. Dialog. ter.] by George Phillips of Watertown in New England. London, Printed by Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton. 4 of CCXI. 10 June. An address to the Reader of 10 pages, signed Tho. Shepard, is followed by the author's address in 4 pages to the Reader, in which he says, that he never writ the Treatise answered nor one word to the writer (wholly unknown to him) nor to any other in England about this matter; and then relates, that Nathaniel Biscoe "coming from England and sitting down with us at Watertown, upon a time desired some conference with me," about two points &c. which it is not worth the space to give, as probably Govr. Winthrop has said enough about the matter. The tract fills 154 pages.

Mercurius Americanus, Mr. Welds his Antitype, or Massachusetts great Apologie examined, being observations upon a paper styled A short story of the Rise, Reigne and

Ruine of the Familists &c. &c. wherein some parties therein concerned are vindicated, and the truth generally cleared. By John Wheelwright junr. London. Printed and are to be sold at the Bull near the Castle Tavern in Cornhill 1645. No. 37 of CCXXXIII. 25 Novr. An address to the reader fills 2 pages, the whole tract 24, after which comes a letter "To his honored friend Capt. Thomas Kingerbie," in which the writer says "in all times it is best to dedicate to a friend, in these times to a soldier," &c. &c.

Simplicities Defence against Seven-headed Policy in the Government of the Church in New England. 16 of CCLXXXIV. 8 Novr. '46.

The Simple Cbler of Agawam in America, willing to help mend his native country &c. No. 21 of CCXCVI. 29 Jan'y. Of this curious book, equally remarkable for its uncharitableness and its wit, so full an account, as also of Nath. Ward, the author, was given in the Boston Monthly Anthology VI. 341, that it may be unnecessary to add a word, except to correct two slight errors, about the time of his Master's degree at the University, here before set right, and the date of his leaving this country. Brook, in his Lives of the Puritans, says he returned to England in 1645.

The Day breaking, if not the Sun rising of the Gospel &c. 17 of CCCVII. 6 April '47.

New England's Jonas cast up at London, 5 of CCCVIII. 15 April.

The bloody tenent washed. 7 of CCCXI. 15 May.

New Englands Salamander discovered. 8 of CCCXIV. 29 May.

Hypocrisy unmasked. 23 of CCCXXXIII. 2 Oct.

The clear sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth. 14 of CCCLV. 3 March.

Well known works of which dates of publication are interesting.

Good Newes from New England, with an exact relation of the first planting of that country, A description of the profits accruing by the Worke, Together with a briefe, but true Discovery of their Order both in Church and Commonwealth, and maintenance allowed the painfull Labourers in that Vineyard of the LORD. With the names of the severall Towns, and who be Preachers to THEM. 4to. London.

Printed by Matthew Simmons 1647-8. 21 of CCCLV. 10 March. Of this tract our great bibliographer, Mr. Rich, in his catalogue, giving the short title and remarking, that the work is in the British Museum, asks, is this a reimpression of Winslow? So it is apparent, that he had not looked at the book. The same suggestion of my own mind caused me to neglect it, until two days before leaving London, when it was found to be a very curious pamphlet of 24 pages, that would have been exactly copied, had time permitted. It is much in the style of Johnson's Wonder-working Providences.

The glorious progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians, 11 of CCCCXXIII. June 49.

The copy of a Letter written to his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Avery, touching sundry opinions by her maintained. By Mr. Thomas Parker, sometimes of Newbury in the County of Berks. London, 1650. This copy was marked by Thomason, as obtained by him 29 Novr., of course 1649. It is No. 3 of CCCCL. It is accompanied by an Epistle to the Reader by Benjamin Woodbridge, the first born of Harvard College, then a minister in England, who says, he had "received other letters to my dear friend, Mrs. Avery" from Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Noyes, relative to her strangely turning away from the faith. She had printed a book containing those errors. Parker's answers fill twenty pages dated at our Newbury, Novr. 1648.

The meritorious price of our redemption, justification, &c. clearing it from some errors, by William Pinchin. 3 of CCCCLXXII, 2 June, 1650.

[Of the fourth of the Tracts about spreading the Gospel among the Indians, Light appearing more and more, I failed to take notice, and can give no exact date of its publication, which we know was in 1651.]

"Ill Newes from New England, or A Narrative of New England's Persecution. Wherein is declared, that while Old England is becoming new, New England is become Old. Also four Proposals to the Honoured Parliament and Council of State, touching the way to Propagate the Gospel of Christ (with small charge and great safety) both in Old England and New. Also four conclusions touching the faith and order of the Gospel of Christ out of his last Will and

Testament, confirmed and justified. By JOHN CLARK Physician of Rode Island in America.

Revel. 2. 25 Holdfast till I come,

3. 11 Behold I come quickly,

22. 20 Amen, even so come Lord Jesus. London, Printed by Henry Hills living in Fleet-Yard next door to the Rose and Crown, in the year 1652." This very rare tract is No. 5 in vol. DXXX Thomason marks 13 May. It was the first object of my inquiry in London, and on 13 June some hours were spent in abstracting the work. Six pages are occupied with the address, or Epistle Dedicatory, to the Parliament and Council of State for the Commonwealth of England, of "your humble and faithful subject, John Clark." The second part, in five pages, "To the Honored Magistracy, the Presbytery, and their dependency in the Mathatusets Colony in New England, The author wisheth repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ," subscribed "your loving friend and countreyman, John Clark." A third address to the true Christian Reader, in four pages, is succeeded by "A brief discourse touching New England as to the matter in hand, and to that part of it, sci. Rode Island, where my residence is, together with the occasion of my going out with others from the Mathatusetts Bay, and the many providentiall occurrences that directed us thereto, and pitched us thereon. As also the Contents of the whole Treastise." This portion of the pamphlet, filling over three pages, being the most valuable, I extract: "New England is a name (as is generally known) that was, and still is, call'd upon that place in reference to Old, yet not so much because it is peopled, and planted from thence, for so are many other Plantations of the English in those Western parts; but because it resembles the same, as the daughter the mother. It resembles it in the Climate, in the times and seasons of the year, in the fruits which the land naturally produceth, in the fowls, and the fish that are there in abundance. It resembles it in their politicall affairs; for their governments, laws, Courts, Officers, are in a great measure the same, and so are the names of their towns & Counties; and in point of good husbandry, that which is raised and produced in New England more substantially, and whether it be for food or rai-

ment it is the same with that which is here produced in Old. It is a place (in the largest acceptation) that contains in it all the Plantations of the English upon that coast of America, that lie between the Dutch Plantation on the West, and the French on the East, and extends itself upon the Seacoast above one hundred leagues. In it is contained the four Colonies, which call themselves the united Colonies, The Colony called by the name of the Province of Providence Plantations lying on the South and South East thereof, and two or three more lying on the East or North East in Agamenticus, Saco, Casco Bay and Pemaquid, where is that Treasure of Masts for Ships. The names of the united Colonies are these, in point of precedency first Matatusetts, but in point of antiquity first Plymouth, then the Matatusetts, then Conectecot, and last Quinipiuck. The chief Towns of these Colonies, and seats of their Government are these, Boston of the Mathatusetts, Plymouth of Plymouth, Hereford of Conectecot, and of Quinipiuck, New Haven.

Now as the name, New England, in the largest and truest acceptation extends to all the Plantations of the English between the French and the Dutch, so in a scanty and improper acceptance of the word (especially when it makes for advantage) it is taken for these four united Colonies, by reason of the precedency they have of others, and for the same cause, and upon the point as well, it may be taken for the Mathatusetts, and the Town of Boston therein. When I speak of New England, understand it of that part which hath got the precedency (by reason of shipping) and start of the rest, sci. the Mathatusetts, as both in my Epistle and Narrative is plain to be seen, which I have here also inserted for fear of mistake.

In the Colony of Providence Plantations in point of antiquity the Town of Providence is chief, but in point of precedency Rode Island excels. This Island lieth in the Narragansett Bay, being fourteen or fifteen miles long, and in breadth between four and five miles at the broadest: It began to be planted by the English in the beginning of the year 39, and by this hand of providence. In the year 1637 I left my native land, and in the ninth moneth of the same, I (through mercy) arrived at Boston. I was no sooner on shore, but there appeared to me differences among them

touching the Covenants, and in point of evidencing a mans good estate, some prest hard for the Covenant of works, and for sanctification to be the first and chief evidence, others prest as hard for the Covenant of grace that was established upon better promises, and for the evidence of the Spirit, as that which is a more certain, constant and satisfactory witness. I thought it not strange to see men differ about matters of Heaven, for I expect no less upon Earth: But to see that they were not able to bear each with other in their different understandings and consciences, as in those utmost parts of the World to live peaceably together, whereupon I moved the latter, for as much as the land was before us and wide enough, with the proffer of Abraham to Lot, and for peace sake to turn aside to the right hand, or to the left. The motion was readily accepted, and I was requested with some others to seek out a place, which accordingly I was ready to do; and thereupon by reason of the suffocating heat of the Summer before, I went to the North to be somewhat cooler, but the Winter following proved so cold, that we were forced in the Spring to make towards the South; so having sought the Lord for direction, we all agreed that while our vessell was passing about a large and dangerous Cape, we would cross over by land, having Long Island and Delaware Bay in our eie for the place of our residence; so to a town called Providence we came, which was begun by one M. Roger Williams (who for matter of conscience had not long before been exiled from the former jurisdiction) by whom we were courteously and lovingly received and with whom we advised about our design: he readily presented two places before us in the same Narragansett Bay, the one upon the main called Sow-wames, the other called then Acquedneck, now Rode Island: we enquired whether they would fall in any other Patent, for our resolution was to go out of them all: he told us (to be brief) that the way to know that, was to have recourse unto Plymouth; so our vessell as yet not being come about, and we thus blocked up, the company determined to send to Plymouth, and pitched upon two others together with myself, requesting also M. Williams to go to Plymouth to know how the case stood. So we did, and the Magistrates thereof very lovingly gave us a meeting. I then informed them of the cause of

our coming unto them, and desired them in a word of truth and faithfulness to inform us whether Sow-wames were within their Patent, for we were now on the wing, and were resolved through the help of Christ to get cleer of all, and be of ourselves, and provided our way were cleer before us, it were all one for us to go further off, as to remain neer at hand : their answer was, that Sow-wames was the garden of their Patent, and the flower in the garden : then I told them yve could not desire it ; but requested further in the like word of truth and faithfulness to be informed, whether they laid claim to the Ilands in the Narragansett Bay, and that in particular called Acquedneck ? They all with a cheerfull countenance made us this answer, it was in their thoughts to have advised thereto, and if the provident hand of God should pitch us thereon they should look upon us as free, and as loving neighbors and friends should be assistant unto us upon the main, &c. So we humbly thanked them, and returned with that answer : So it pleased the Lord, by moving the hearts of the natives, even the chiefest thereof, to pitch us thereon, and by other occurrences of providence, which are too large here to relate. So that having bought them off to their full satisfaction, we have possessed the place ever since ; and notwithstanding the different understandings and consciences amongst us, without interruption, we agree to maintain civil Justice and judgement, neither are there such outrages committed amongst us as in other parts of the Country are frequently seen."

Clark seems very fond of the number four, since, besides his Proposals to Parliament and Conclusions touching the Gospel, he uses the same division for his Narrative, which declares : "1. How those three strangers were apprehended, imprisoned, sentenced and for what : 2. How the motion was made for a publique dispute, often repeated and promised, and yet disappointed : 3. How two escaped, and the third was cruelly handled : 4. How two, for taking him but by the hand after his punishment, were apprehended, imprisoned, and sentenced to pay forty shillings or be whipped." The statement of the points in the four Conclusions may here be undesirable ; nor would it be expedient to add more than the heading of the *first* part of the Narrative : "A Faithful and True Relation of the Prosecution of Obediah

Holmes, John Crandall, and John Clarke, meerly for Conscience towards God, by the principall Members of the Church, or Commonwealth of the Mathatusetts in New England which rules over that part of the World; whereby is shewn their discourteous Entertainment of Strangers, and how that Spirit by which they are led, would order the whole World, if either brought under them, or should come in unto them: Drawn forth by the aforesaid John Clarke, not so much to answer the Importunity of Friends, as to stop the mouthes, and slanderous reports of such as are Enemies to the Cross of Christ. Let him that readeth it consider, which church is most like the church of Christ (that Prince of Peace, that meek and gentle Lamb, that came into this World to save Mens lives, not to destroy them) the Persecuted, or Persecuting." My excuse for not transcribing more is that the tract fills 76 close printed pages; and I hope our friends in Rhode Island will reprint the work exactly, and so correct some casual errors in spelling, if any occur in my copy.

Strength out of Weakness, Progress of the Gospel. 6 of DXXXIX. 4 Aug.

The civil Magistrate's power in matters of religion. No. 2 of DLIII. 15 Febr. Six pages of grievous dedication beginning "To the Right Honorable Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of all the forces of the Commonwealths of England, Scotland and Ireland, Grace, Mercy and Peace be multiplied," and ending with the date and signature, "Lynne in New England this 4th of the 8th 52 Your Excellencies' humbly devoted servant Thos. Cobbet," are followed by four pages of address to the Reader, with signature again, and the residue of the work is 108 pages.

A brief answer to a scandalous pamphlet, called Ill News from New England written by, &c. 3 of DLIII. 15 Feb. This work, appropriately bound up with the last mentioned tract, fills 52 pages. It begins: "Since my composing the former Discourse about the civil Magistrate his coercive power in matters of Religion, &c." showing, that its author was Cobbet. There is a P. S. defending Winslow, and giving a minute detail of curious particulars in proceedings of Newman's church at Rehoboth. Rich's Catalogue notices a copy in the Philadelphia Library.

A Platform of church Discipline, &c. Synod of Cambridge in New England. 7 of DLVIII. 24 April.

Tears of Repentance. The sixth tract about evangelizing our Indians, 16 of DLXIII. 21 May. Of the seventh publication, that came out in 1655, no minute was taken by me.

A brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy. 8 of DLXXIV. 1 August. This did not occupy me a minute, because sufficient account of the work is in a note to Winthrop's History of New England I. 33.

A history of New England from the English planting in 1628 until 1652 (i. e. Wonderworking Providences). 4 of DLXXXVII. 29 Novr. 1653.

The Orthodox Evangelist. 9 of DC. 9 May 54.

A treatise of the Sabbath, &c. by William Pynchon. 5 of DCXXIII. 7 Novr.

Holy time, or the true limits of the Lord's day, by William Pynchon. 6 of DCXXIII. 7 Novr.

Samuel Vassall of London his Petition to the Parliament. 5 of DCCXLI. 23 Jany. 57, reciting, that he endured imprisonment in several prisons for about 16 years, for opposing the illegal taxes laid by the late King, and his goods were taken away, and that the consideration of his case being referred to a Committee, on their Report the House voted him £10445, 12, 2 for his damages, and would farther consider his case; that he had received not one penny; that £2591, 17, 6 also were lent to the Parliament by him in Ireland in their great straits, and that also for one of his ships service £3328, 2, 7 were due, and for part of three other ships in service, and he makes up the whole to be £20010, 19, 8. Besides all which, another ship of his, the Mayflower, laden, manned with sixty men for the Streights, was taken, by order of the Committee of Safety, for public service, and after being returned and fitted for another voyage, taken again from him, to prevent some design of the enemy, to the overthrow of his voyage, and his great losse.

Abel being dead yet speaketh. Life and death of John Cotton by John Norton 6 of DCCXLIV. 14 April.

America painted to the Life. By Ferdinando Gorges, Esq. is Vol. DCCLXXVI. 2 Mar 58.

A dissertation concerning Church members and their children by Assembly of Divines at Boston in New England. 3 of DCCXCIV. 17 June.

The Christian Commonwealth, or the civil policy of the rising kingdom of Jesus Christ. By John Eliot, 10 of DCCCV. 26 Oct.

All the foregoing volumes, and others, up to 870, are small quartos. Catalogue of 142 volumes, large quartos, shows nothing about our country, except in Newspapers, which are the chief contents of this parcel. Next follows Catalogue of 1968 pieces in 905 volumes of the octavo size, of which but few were attractive to me.

A Key into the Language of America, &c. By Roger Williams of Providence in New England. London, printed by Gregory Dexter, 1643. Vol. LXVIII. 7 Sept.

A description of the new world, or America, islands and continent, by George Gardiner. Vol. CCV. 16 Jany. 1649.

The tenth Muse lately sprung up in America, or several poems. Also, a Dialogue between Old England and New, concerning the late troubles. With divers other pleasant and serious Poems. By a Gentlewoman in those parts. Vol. CCLXXIV. marked 5 July 1650. It opens with an address to the "Kind Reader," ending with verses, by N. Ward, followed by three pages of verses "To my deare Sister, the Author of these Poems," signed I. W. another copy of verses, signed C. B. another, signed R. Q. with a fourth, signed N. H. a fifth "upon the author," signed C. B. "another to Mrs. Anne Bradstreete author of this poem," signed H. S. and a final page of two Anagrams. No more need be said, as the second edition in a decent 12mo. printed at Boston by John Foster 1678 is in our Library.

The heart of New England rent at the blasphemies of the present generation, or a brief tractate concerning the Doctrines of the Quakers. By John Norton. Vol. DCCCXVIII. marked Jany. 1659.

Eleventh and twelfth Vols. of the Catalogue refer to the folios, only 38 in number, filled with single sheets, as public Acts, Proclamations, &c.

Of one of the first class of Harvard College I found a letter in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* II. 504. of the Ed. in 4to. being No. 19 of lib. XIII. which may seem worth copying, addressed to the clerk of the Council of State: "After my humble service and thankfulness for all your christian respect and favours, I am occasioned by an extraordinary

exigent, to move you, a little beyond my bounds, that (as this bearer, Mr. Clerke, my agent & faithfull friend, shall explaine my affairs to you) you may vouchsafe to lighten my present cares so farre as (with securitie from my Lord Charles Fleetwood or lieutenant general Ludlow) you shall find safe and convenient. Wherein you would greatly refresh my bowells, & (with your pardon of this strange boldnesse) more oblige me to be

your very humble faithful servant,
 Alby in Norfolk, July XXVI. NATL. BREWSTER.
 MDCLVIII.

These to the worthily honored Henry Scobell Esq. present, in Westminster."

One of my principal pursuits was to obtain evidence of births or marriages of our early settlers, in which the frequent failure of registries in the Parishes subjected me to be sometimes disheartened. Occasionally there may be too heavy expense in searching those records; but usually the keepers are as liberal as exact. For the copious extracts from the Parish Register of Groton in Suffolk, I was indebted to Richard Almack, Esquire, which are here given precisely as transcribed:

- 1582 Teomasing ¹Clopton the daughter of Mr. Willm Clopton Gent. and of Mistress Margery his wife was baptised the 18th day of February. (She was married to John Winthrop and died in childbed 1626.)
- 1587 ²John Winthrop the sonne of Adam Winthrop and Anna his wife was baptised the 16th January.
- 1592 Jane the daughter of Adam Winthrop was baptised the 17th daie of June.
- 1600 Lucie Winthrop the daughter of Adam Winthrop Gent. and Mrs. Anna his wife was baptised the 27th day of January.
- 1605 John Winthrop the sonne of John Winthrop and of Marie his wife was baptised the 23d of February.
- 1607 Hennery Winthrop the sonne of John Winthrop and of Mary his wife was baptised the 19th day of Januarye.
- 1614 Anna Winthrop the daughter of John Winthrop Esqre. was baptised the 8th day of August.
- 1615 Anna Winthrop the daughter of John Winthrop Esq. was baptised the 26th of June.
- 1619 Steven the son of John Winthrop Esqre. and Margaret his 3d wife was baptised the last daie of March.

¹ The seat of the family, of which William was the head, was Castleins, a manor house in Groton. It is often mentioned in the letters of Govr. Winthrop to his third wife. The date of the death of this second wife is, evidently, an error of transcription, as the true time is given afterwards.

² He was four days old, when baptized, as his father mentions his birthday in the Almanac we possess.

- 1620 Adam the sonne of John Winthroppe Esquire was baptised the 9th of April.
- 1622 Deane Winthroppe the sonne of John Winthroppe Esqre was baptised the 23d of Marche.
- 1624 Nathaniel Winthroppe the sonne of John Winthroppe Esquire was baptised the 20th of Februarie.
- 1627 Samuell the sonne of John Winthroppe Esqre. & Margaret his wife August the 26th.
- 1630 Ann Winthroppe daughter of John Esqre. and Margaret his 3d wife baptised Aprill 29th.
- Martha Winthroppe daughter of Harry & Elizabeth his wife baptised May 9th.
- 1651 Stephen Winthroppe sonne of Stephen Winthroppe and of Judith his wife was born May 13th.
- 1563 Willm Mildmays Esq. and Annis Winthroppe widow was married the 7th daie of June—¹Thomas his son, and Alice her daughter the 12th of the same Month.
- 1579 Adam Winthrop Gent. & Anne Browne were married the 20th daie of Februarie.
- 1604 Thomas ²Jones and Anna Winthroppe were married the 20th daie of Februarie—She died the 16th daie of Maie Anno 1619.
- 1612 ³Thomas Gosline and Mrs. Jane Winthrop were married the 5th day of January.
- 1615 John Winthrop Esq. and Thomasinge Clopton was married the 6th day of Decr.
- 1622 Immanuel Downinge and Luce Winthroppe Gent were married the 10th of Aprile.
- 1630 John Winthrope and Martha ⁴Jones were married Februarie the 8th.
- 1562 ⁵Adam Winthrop the elder Esq was buried the 12th day of November.
- 1614 Anna Winthrop the daughter of John Winthrope Esq. was buried the 26th day of August.
- 1615 Mrs. Mary Winthroppe the first wife of John Winthrope Esq was buried the 26th day of June.
- Anna Winthrop her daughter was buried the 29th day of June.
- 1616 A younge child of John Winthrop Esq. was buried the second of December.
- Mrs. Thomasin Winthrope the 2d wife of John Winthrop Esq. was buried the 11th day of December.
- 1623 Adam Winthroppe Gent. was buried the 28th of Marche.
- 1629 ⁶Mrs. Winthroppe Senr. April the 19th.
- 1630 Mrs. ⁷Forth Winthroppe buried 23d November.

¹ This Thomas was knighted (I suppose, by Queen Elizabeth) and resided at Springfield Barnes in Essex. He left issue by Alice Winthrop, (who was, of course, aunt of our first Governor,) and Sir Wm. Mildmay, created baronet in 1765 was descended from them. See Burke's Extinct Baronetcies.

² Probably the name Fones, several times occurring in the printed letters of Govr. Winthrop is mistaken for Jones; or this name is an error, and should be that.

³ Philip was given as the name of Mr. Gostling in an old genealogy, by some mistake; or was assumed, erroneously, from the use of this name in the *first* will of Winthrop, instead of Thomas, who was, probably, son of Philip.

⁴ She was, we may presume, daughter of her husband's aunt.

⁵ No doubt this was the grandfather of Govr. Winthrop; and, probably, to him was made the grant of the manor of Groton from Henry VIII. after the suppression of the religious houses.

⁶ Beyond question, this is our Governor's mother. See his letters April 29 and May 8 of this year.

⁷ We had never heard before of the marriage of Forth Winthrop. He was a son of the first John by the first wife, but younger, probably, than Henry, from the order

An earnest desire was felt to ascertain, more plainly than can be learned from Mather's *Magnalia*, the derivation of Govr. Bradford. My application was made to the most competent authority, yet with only partial success, as the following letter evinces :

30 *Torrington Square*, Sept. 11, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — There have been many persons of the surname of Bradford, living in the parts of Yorkshire in the vicinity of Doncaster, and at Doncaster itself, where the name occurs in the Catalogue of Mayors. One family of the name, who were settled at Arksey, a village about three miles North of Doncaster, appeared at Sir William Dugdale's Visitation of the County in 1665 and 1666, when they recorded a Pedigree, which I have printed in my account of Arksey (South Yorkshire, Vol. I.) from MS. C. 40 in the College of Arms. There was a still older family of the name seated in the neighborhood of Wakefield, of whom I have seen account in Collections of Yorkshire Genealogies, but no mention of any member of it going to New England.

One family of the name possessed a small estate at Austerfield, a chapelry about nine miles south of Doncaster, and within a short distance of Bawtry. This name might be so easily read Ansterfield, that it appears highly probable such a mistake has been made by some one, and that this is the place at which Governor Bradford was born. At the same time I have seen nothing which directly connects him with this family, of whom the following is all that has occurred to me.

1606 April 11. Robert Bradfourth is a witness to the will of Robert Hartley of Austerfield, yeoman.

1607 March 1. Thomas Bradfurth of Doncaster, yeoman,
 “ To Richard Bradfurth, my son, one bible-book and one

in which he is named in his father's will made in 1620, and was, when that will was altered, upon the death of Henry, presumed to be alive. This appears by his name remaining, the obliterated parts being included between * stars *. His baptism is not mentioned in the above list, and perhaps it occurred in Loudon. It may be thought, that in the transcription there is an error, and that Mrs. should be Mr. Of Nathaniel, before mentioned, notice is never found, and he, probably, died in early youth. The children of Govr. Winthrop, then, were fifteen in all, scilicet, the ten, whose baptisms are given above, one, the child of the second wife, dying before baptism, Mary and Forth, children of the first wife, perhaps not born at Groton, William, child of the third wife, and Joshua, of the fourth, both born in this city.

halberd," also a messuage and lands, — 20s. to the poor of Doncaster — daur. Catherine Bradfurth — daur. Anne Wildbore.

1609 April 15. Will of Robert Bradfurth of Austerfield, yeoman. After a short, pious, introduction, he gives to the Chapel at Austerfield 10s. — to his servant Grace Wade the use of a house — * * * * * Thomas Silvester clerk and servant Alice Welch — to his brother in law James Hall he gives a sorrel nag — son Robert his best iron-bound wain, his best yoke of oxen, his counter wherein the Evidences are, one corselet with all the furniture belonging to it, a cupboard, table, and form. The residue he gives to his four children Robert, Mary, Elizabeth and Margaret Bradforth, and makes them his Executors. His good neighbour, Mr. Richardson of Bawtry is to have the tuition of his son Robert and daughter Margaret, and of their fortunes till they are 21 ; William Downer of Scrooby to have the like of Elizabeth, and Mr. Silvester of Awkley of his daughter Mary. [Scrooby and Awkley are both villages near Austerfield.] He gives to his son Robert the reversion of two leases, one of which he has of the King's land in Austerfield, the other what he holds of Mr. Morton of Martin.

1628 Novr. 28. Will of William Vesey of Brampton, gent. gives "lands at Austerfield which I bought of Robert Bradforth."

1630 May 20. Will of Robert Wright of Doncaster, draper, "To Robert Bradford of Austerfield my grey suit of apparel." — To Richard Bradford, son of Robert of Austerfield one fustian doublet and one pair of hose.

1633 June 19. Will of Bryan Bradford of Doncaster, shearman — nephew Simon Bradford 10s. — wife to have the house he lives in, and on her death, to go to his nephew William Bradford &c. bequests small.

This you will, at once, perceive, proves little more than that a family of the name of Bradford had lands at a place called Austerfield in Yorkshire ; and in the absence of any proof of there being an Ansterfield in that County, it may be thought a no unreasonable presumption, that this was the place intended.

Yours faithfully

JOSEPH HUNTER.

Austerfield, on my map of Yorkshire, is plainly to be seen,

about a mile from Bawtry in Nottinghamshire. But in the map of Thoroton, Vol. III. of his *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, 4to. Ed. by John Throsby, 1790, it is printed with a mistake of n. for u. Awkley is about five miles North of A. and Scrooby as far South, the latter being in Nottingham.

Greater felicity attended some of my inquiries in Devonshire, where a kind friend and most assiduous antiquary, Revd. George Oliver of Exeter, favored me with his own researches and interested another gentleman in similar pursuits. He wrote in September: "On one point I am satisfied, that the parish of Thorncombe was the cradle of the Bowditch family. I have met with Robert Bowditch (who lived there) as one of the overseers of the will of Benedict Colmer of Thorncombe, Devon, which was made 13th May 1598, and was proved at Honiton 5 Aug't. the same year. — Sarah Bowditch's will of Thorncombe was proved here in 1686. — I am informed that a Robert Bowditch died Vicar of Broadhembury in 1712, and that the will was proved 18 July that year by his relict and Executrix Anne Bowditch. I have further been informed, that the will of Charlotte Bowditch of Heavitree was proved as late as 1826.

I regret to add, that on the other interesting queries you propose, I cannot at present obtain *satisfactory* information. But I am not at all discouraged; if I can ferret out any thing to serve your laudable purpose, you may depend on my forwarding it to you at Boston. Every ingenuous mind must be gratified with your investigations; and they are particularly interesting at the present moment when the relations of the two countries approximate so much. The Mother country is much indebted to the Daughter country, but especially for the example she has given her of freedom of discussion and liberty of conscience."

In conformity with his voluntary engagement, that gentleman on 14 Novr. forwards me original *memoranda* supplied by his correspondent, James Davidson, at Axminster 11 Novr. 1842, to "serve as hints for further investigation, if required:" "BOWDITCH. The name of Bowditch is very common in Axminster and the surrounding parishes, and there is reason to think that it has been in some instances altered to Bowdige, Bowridge and Burrige, all which may

be met with. — John Hody of Beer Hall in Axminster left an only daughter married to Bowditch soon after 1635. Hody was descended from a respectable family at Nithaway in Brixham, of which several individuals are recorded by Lyson p. cc. To trace this family, it would probably be necessary to search the registers of many parishes. Geo. Bowdige of Axminster married Mary daur. of Geo. Warry of Wick in the same parish, and had a daur. Mary married at Musbury on the 24 Sept. 1751 to Jonathan Bilke of Axminster, clothier, and died Jany. 1795. Davy Bowditch was a landholder in Kilmington in 1751. — The name Bowridge appears at Shillingford — Burrige at Tiverton, and at Ottery St. Mary in the beginning of the 17th century. It would be desirable to know, whether any coat of arms has been preserved by the family of Bowditch which might be compared with that on a stone to the memory of several persons of the name of Burrige in the church of Lyme Regis.

CLAP. I find the name Peter Clap, donor of parish lands in St. Sidwells, Exeter, in 1689 — at later dates the name may be met with at St. Patricks, and in Goldsmith street, Exeter, at Teignmouth, Okehampton, Bickleigh and Shute, and down to the present time, or nearly so, at South Tawton.

DRAKE. Of the family of Drake, in consequence of their possessions and connexions in this parish and the neighborhood, I have so many notices, that it would fill a little volume to transcribe them. I have pedigrees of the Drakes, knights and baronets of Ash, extending to twelve generations, and comprising not less than one hundred and fifty individuals, among them appear John and Robert Drake, sons of John Drake, Esq. of Exmouth (who was living in 1546) by Margaret, daur. of John Cole of Rill in the parish of Wythycombe Raleigh. John Drake the son was also of Exmouth, and married Julian, daur. and coheir of William Hurst of Exeter, by whom he had issue. — Of Robert D. his brother, no further particulars are mentioned, his name only being given in the Herald's Visitation. These were not of the family of the circumnavigator.

GIBBS. The name of Gibbs occurs in several instances prior to 1640, and in many subsequent to that date. John

Gibbs was witness to a deed at Modbury in 1464 — John Gibbs witness to a deed of Edw. Courtenay in 1475 — Robert Gibbs Vicar of Axmouth in 1597 — Gibbes of Fenton in the parish of Rattery sold his estates and removed about the time of Q. Eliz'h. — Canonteign in this county belonged to W. Gibbs about 1600. John Gibbs was donor of money to the poor of Dunchidcock in 1624. William Gibbs of Fenton sold Manworthy in Holsworthy to Hurst of Exeter. William Gibbs sold Boterford in North Huish to Prestwood of Exeter. In the pedigree of Drewe of Newton St. Cyres, Edmond D. married the daughter of Gibbs, and had an only daur. and heir, Mary, married 1st to Northcote, and 2dly to Sir E. Giles. — In the church of Clist St. George are monuments to John Gibbs in 1652, aged 82, and Anstice his wife. George Gibbs 1683 aged 81, George Gibbs 1723, who was donor of lands to the poor of that parish in 1721. If a coat of arms has been preserved, it might assist in tracing the connections of the family for whom inquiry is made with one or other of the foregoing. The name appears at subsequent dates at Exeter, among the inscribed stones in the Cathedral church — Brixham — Georgeham — Ottery St. Mary — Topsham — Thorncombe — Axminster. In the church of St. Mary Arches at Exeter are gravestones to the ancestors of the late Chief Justice Sir Vicary Gibbs — John G. Esq. 1726 — J. Gibbs Esq. 1746 &c.

HARVARD. If this name were originally Harward, it may be connected with the family which still remains, as it has done for more than three centuries, at Hayne in the parish of Plymtree. Here again a coat of arms would be of service. I find no mention of Harvard.

LUDLOW. Of this name I find no trace.

MAVERICK. Radford Maverick was Vicar of Ilsington in 1603. Radford Maverick, Rector of Trusham between 1586 and 1616. The registers of these parishes may possibly contribute some information.

PARSONS. I meet with this name in the following instances. Polwhele mentions Parsons among the celebrated medical men of Devon. Lysons mentions among the natives of Plymouth Mrs. Parsons, author of above 60 volumes of novels. Elizabeth Parsons was a tenant under

the manor of East Membury in 1605.—Parsons under master of Tiverton school 1633. In Exeter cathedral church are stones inscribed to Grace, daur. of Thomas Irish, priest vicar in that church, and wife of Robert Parsons, died 1645, and Robert Parsons who died in 1676 — In Colyton church, Henry Parsons, died 1653 — Mary P. his wife, died 1666 — Sarah, wife of Thomas Parsons, died 1690. Among the donors of money to the poor of the parish of Culmstock appears John Parsons of Sanford Arundel in the Co. of Somerset, merchant in Portugal before 1674. John & Mary Parsons were donors of lands to the poor of the parish of Clayhaddon in 1693. Azariah Parsons of Peter's Tavy in the Co. of Devon was among the Royalists who compounded for their estates during the Usurpation in the 17th century — Robert Parsons Rector of Rewe in 1668. In 1732 Thomas Parsons was a freeholder in Kilmington. A stone in Tiverton church records John Parsons merchant who died in 1735. John Parsons merchant appears a donor to the charity lands of Tiverton in 1771 — he had a daur. Mrs. Lewis, whose daughter was the lady of Sir John Duntze, bart. There are several families of this name in humble life in the neighbourhood of Axminster.

ROSSITER. The only instance I find of this name is in the Herald's Visitations for 1561, 1565 and 1620 — thus, William Perye of Westwater in the parish of Mambury Esq. by his wife the daughter of John Fry of the family at Garty had a daughter who was married to * * * Rossiter. There is, I think, a family of this name now residing at Tiverton and another at Torquay.

SOUTHCOTT. This family branched out into many parts of Devon, into Essex, and Lincolnshire. In the pedigrees there are many individuals of the name of Thomas, about the middle of the 17th century. Thomas S. Esq. by Thomasine daur. of Kirkham of Blagdon in this county had 3 sons, George, Thomas & Peter. George had a son Thomas, who in 1643 was one of the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament for the sequestration of the estates of the Royalists in Devon. The only two whom I find, of the name of Richard, are the second son of John Southcott of Bovy Tracey living in 1562, and Richard, born 1616, the second son of John Southcott who was the third

son of John S. the eldest son of John S. of Winkleigh in the co. of Devon.

WARHAM. The only place in which I find this name mentioned is in the Revd. G. Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, Vol. II. p. 157, William Warham Prebendary in the cathedral church of Exeter in 1536."

Mr. Oliver subjoins: "The above is the handwriting of Mr. Davidson, a diligent Antiquary. I am perfectly satisfied, however, that the Bowditchs were settled at Holdiche in Thorncombe Parish at an early period. In their house was a chapel licensed in honor of St. Melor by Bp. Stafford A. D. 1417.

A few days since I was looking at the will of Bernard Prince of Kilmington, near Axminster, Gent. made 23 June 1605 and proved 22 July the same year. He concludes thus: I doe appointe Overseers of this my Testament my good Brothers in Lawe, John Bowdiche and George Bowdiche, Gents. and Thomas Prince the elder, my Brother.

I must repeat my promise not to lose sight of yr inquiries. I cannot sufficiently admire your love of antiquity, and the patriotism of your heraldic researches. To afford any assistance would be to me a pride and pleasure."

Mr. Oliver had, in June, favored me with some information not altogether superseded by the later memoranda of his correspondent, as will appear by these extracts: "Gibbe or Gibbs came originally from Venton or Fenton in Dartington Parish. To Thos. Gybbe & Margaret his wife Dr. Edmund Lacy, Bp. of Exeter on 22 June 1437 licensed a chapel, *infra mansionem suam in Dartyngton situatam*. In the early part of Q. Elizabeth's reign, the family sold this property, and settled in the Parish of St. George's Clist near Exeter. There I believe the late Surgeon of this City, Geo. Abraham Gibbs was born. He died here 9 Novr. 1794, & was buried in the family vault at George's Clist. You are aware, that he was father to Sir Vicary Gibbs, who was born near Palace Gates, Exeter, and was baptized 12 Novr. 1751 by Revd. Wm. West, the Arian Minister of this City. This eminent lawyer became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, & dying in Russell Square, London, on 8 Feb. 1820 was buried at Hayes, Kent. Arms of Gibbs, Ar. 3 Battle axes, sable.

Southcotes came from Winkley Parish. A branch settling at Indio in S. Bovey, made a considerable fortune at the dissolution of Religious houses in Devon, to several of which he, John S. had previously been steward. From Indio ramifications spread to Calverleigh, Mohun's Ottery, Shillingford, Dulcishays, all in Devon, and one branched to Bliborough, Co. Lincoln. Arms of Southcote, Arg. a Chevron Gules, betw. 3 cootes Sab."

From the same gentleman I had learned, in May, that a Lutheran clergyman of Bremen, the great-grandfather of Lord Ashburton, had son John, who was born there in 1697 came at the age of 20 to Exeter, was by Act of Parliament naturalized March 1723 died in 1748, having laid the foundations of the family property. He left several children, of whom one daughter married the celebrated lawyer, Dunning, the opponent of the ministry in the American revolutionary war, who, at its close, being made a peer, took the title of Lord Ashburton from the great landed interest of the Barings in that vicinity. Francis, a son, made a baronet May 1793 was father of Sir Thomas, of Alexander, the happy negotiator of the Treaty of Washington, and others.

Other inquiries in Devon, in which abundant kindness was exhibited in all quarters, from Plymouth to Axminster, furnished some reward. At the parish of Plympton St. Mary, in which part of the church dates back to 1240, the register afforded evidence, that Thomas Snelling, son of William Snelling of Chaddlewood, who was son of Robert S. of Plympton, was born 1560 "married Joan, daughter and heiress of Thomas Elford, Esquire, of Bridge House;" that "21 day of November 1644 was buried Thomas Snelling of Chaddlewood, gent." The incumbent of this parish, Revd. Wm. I. Coppard, favored me with copy of inscription, in the neighboring parish church of St. Maurice, to the honor of "Samuel Snelling, Gent. twice maior of this town. He died the 20 day of November 1624," which is terminated by some lines not worth bringing so great a distance. His eyes, perhaps aided by his memory, deciphered, from a time-worn, horizontal, freestone over a tomb in the grave yard, what would otherwise have eluded my power, the commemoration of "Sampson, son of John Snelling of Chaddlewood, who departed this life 26 Decr. 1638."

From him I learned, too, that the arms of the Snellings here were the same with those in Gwillim's Heraldry, to which we turned, for the Snellings of Surrey; and that the family in this quarter is long since extinct, and Chaddlewood has been some years in possession of the family of Symons.

By Revd. Ambrose Stapleton, Vicar of East Budleigh, near Sidmouth, I was most liberally supplied with evidence from the registry of many generations of the families of Clap, Conant, and Ford, of which perhaps these few may be sufficient :

William Conant married Novr. 26 — 1588

Roger Conant baptized April 9 — 1593

Philip Clap married Novr. 27 — 1606

Philip Clap baptized January 28 — 1609

Search for any memorial of Revd. John White, the friend of early planters in Massachusetts Bay before the Charter of Charles I, was unsuccessful. Vol. I. 390 of Hutchins' History of Dorset in 4 folios, in the part of his work assigned to the town and borough of Dorchester, title Parish of St. Peters, head of registers of burials, (which begins about 1560,) has these words: "1648 July 24, Mr. John White, minister of God's word, was buried after abiding forty one years minister of this town."

For the ancestor of the family of President Stiles of Yale College, Revd. Geo. Carter Cardale of Millbrook, near Amptill, in Bedfordshire, searched the Parish register from 1564 for names of all the family down to 1650, and gave me transcript, as follows: "1581 Rychard Styyles sonne of Rychard Styyles was baptized 20th of June. 1591 Maria Styyles daughter of Thomas Styyles was baptized 7th of March. 1595 John Styyles the son of Thomas Styyles was Christened the 25th of December. 1600 Chrystopher Styles the sonne of Thomas Styyles was baptized 28th March. 1602 Francis Styyles son of Thomas Styyles was baptized the 1st day of August. 1604 Joane Styyles daughter of Thomas Styyles and Maria his Wyfe was baptized the 8th day of Januarie. 1605 Joane Styyles the Wyfe of Thomas Styyles was buried the 22 of Januarie. 1607 Elyzabeth Styyles Daughter of Thomas Styyles and Maria his Wyfe was baptized 28 December. 1612 Thomys Styyles Son of Thomas Styyles was baptized the 7 of February. 1614 Wyddow Styles was buried ye 20 March."

Information of our Revd Zechariah Symmes and of Long, one of his parishioners, was sought from the place of his earliest labours, and was communicated in a letter of which I copy the greater part :

“DEAR SIR, — I am happy to inform you, that our Register contains many signatures by Zechariah Symmes as Minister of the parish of Dunstable in the County of Bedford. Burials 1625 from June to March 1625–6 we find 40 funerals, & all marked — plague

Signed ZECHARYE SYMMES Minister.

NICHOLAS PERKINS, JOHN CRAWLEY Churchwardens.

Baptized 1626 Jany. 10 Willm. Symmes the son of Zacharie Symmes baptized the 10th Jany.

1628 Marie the Daughter of Zacharie Symmes was baptized the sixteenth day of April.

1629 Elizabeth the Daughter of Zachariah Symmes baptized the first of January.

1630 Huldah the Daughter of Zacharie Symmes the 18th March.

1632 Hannah the Daughter of Zechariah Symmes 22th of August.

1633 Rebekah Daughter of Zechariah Symmes 12th Feb.

Buried 1633, 20 Burials are recorded. Signed

ZACHARIAH SYMMES Minister

Baptized Anno Domini 1630 Matthew Hickson }
Daniel Fossie } Churchwardens

Zacharye Sonne of Robert Longe the 20th of October

ZACHARIAH SYMMES Minister.

I certify that the Registers of Births viz. seven written on the reverse side of this paper and that above are all true Copies extracted from the Register Books belonging to the parish of Dunstable in the County of Bedford

SOLOMON PIGGOTT A. M. Rector of Dunstable

Dunstable July 4th 1842. witness GEORGE DERBYSHIRE

Parish Clerk.

Buried Anno Dom. 1631.

Sarah Longe buried the 12th December

ZACHARIAH SYMMES Minister

I certify that the above is a true copy extracted from the Burial Register belonging to the parish of Dunstable in the County of Bedford. SOLOMON PIGGOTT A. M. Rector.

Rectory, Dunstable July 4th, 1842.

Dear Sir, I suppose that the Revd. Zecharie Symmes was the Rector of Dunstable tho it is only mentioned Minister & as his Family of Daughters seems to have rapidly en-

creased & the Living being then very small in value, as it is at present, he removed to America; where I am glad to find from your account he obtained a good settlement & saw his Daughters married to worthy & substantial persons.— You may be sure that Zech. Symmes removed to support his family, as he remained at Dunstable only 8 years, his handwriting evincing this which thus commences, under Burials 1625

Z. S. the vith September.

16 March (signed by Minister and churchwardens, as in the first instance above.)

His signature ends 1633. The 25th March (signed as in second instance.)

Mr. Piggott adds: “It is evident that the plague had occurred in July 1625 before Mr. Zech. Symmes came, which was in Sept. 1625; it raged also much 1630, for there are recorded about 30 deaths with plague.

Inquiry about Govr. Eaton at Stony Stratford produced from Revd. Wm. H. Bond this reply: “I have minutely examined the Register Books belonging to the Parish of Stony Stratford in my possession, but the years previous to 1619 are in so mutilated a state that very little is legible in them. There are no remains of Registers so far back as 1590, so that the Baptism of the party, to whom your letter refers, cannot be met with. But I find, upon examining through the year 1618 traces of an entry of the Baptism of a child belonging to a Jerome Eaton, and also another entry in the year 1621 of a daughter of the same Jerome Eaton; so that it appears from our Register Books, that families of the name, to which your letter refers, were living in Stony Stratford a few years subsequent to the supposed date of the Birth of Theophilus Eaton, and probably they were his relatives, but I do not find any traces of the family name after 1621. This is all the information I am able to give you at present.”

Revd. Dr. Taylor wrote from Dedham, 8 Sept. “I wish that my reply to your letter, now more than a month old, were more satisfactory to myself with regard to the interesting personages, who proceeded from our Village to be so honorably remembered on your side of the Atlantic.

I have diligently examined our oldest registers commen-

cing in 1596, and have found the following Entry; John son of Edmund Sherman baptized 4 Jan. 1614. The Village abounds in persons of the name. Not so Rogers, I hardly know at present one of the name; but one of our most striking monuments is that of John Rogers. It represents him in the act of preaching, and the following inscription is upon it:

Johannes Rogersius
Hic quam
Prædicavit expectat
Resurrectionem.
{ Oct 8vo
{ Domini 1636
{ Ætatis 65
{ Ministerii 42
{ Huic Ecclesiæ 31
Obiit

Hoc affect' sinceri symbolum pesuit
Geo. Dunne Chirurg. bonis.

This John Rogers must, according to the above dates, have been born in 1571 & the Protomartyr's death happens in 1555. There remains the interval of 16 years between them, which would probably bring our John Rogers, the grandson of the martyr, if there is truth in your tradition, to which I have nothing here corresponding. I wish I could trace the descent, but it is hopeless to attempt it.

Among the names which met my view in searching the registers were the following, which I subjoin for no better purpose than for curiosity to speculate upon, if any of them are common in the new Dedham, as they are still in the old.

Sherman	Rogers	Cooper	Mason	Ham
Ellis	Barker	Baker	Garrod	Lewis
Freeman	Candeller	Abbott	Cole	Littlebury
Lufkin		Sidney	Templeman	

Upon inquiry among the people, I do not hear any tidings of the original Emigration."

Uncertain genealogies made no part of my investigations, but frequently cases turn up in England, that may be aided by inquiry in our country. Sir Thomas C. Banks, author of the Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England, wrote me, about our early settlers, "many of them were the branches of noble and distinguished houses in England. The Percys in Virginia I consider descended from the old Percys, Earls

of Northumberland, & their line traceable if duly inquired into. I suspect the family of Gardiner, at Gardiner's Island, to be the representatives of Mr. Gardiner, who married one of the co-heiresses of the Barony, the most ancient Barony of Fitz Walter, now under claim before the House of Lords by Sir H. Brooke Bridges, Bart. Fitz Walter was the General of the Barons army which obtained the Magna Charta of K. John. The Willoughbys also now in the United States I have reason to believe are the heirs of the dormant Barony of Willoughby of Parham. I do not know whether any of the Drummonds made any permanent settlement, but the Earl of Perth had a large grant. His heir, the Duke, who was in the rebellion of 1745, did not die at sea, as mentioned by most historians. He never quitted England. His grandson, his heir, is now living near Durham; and an interesting case respecting the Duke, his marriage, place of retirement after the fatal battle of Culloden, &c. &c. is about to be investigated before the Lords' Committees for privileges. About 5 or 6 years ago I drew up, and published the Case."

Less success attended my inquiries in Kent than was expected. From the clergyman of Tenterden a reply to questions was not obtained. A London friend, on an excursion to Dover for some weeks, obtained evidence, that a descendant of our Starr of whom the emigration from Kent is before mentioned, named Simon, "came from America" four generations ago, and settled at Dover. In the present day, one of the name, a Barrister, resides there; and another, in the generation before the last, married a Capt. Tickner at Ramsgate. The same gentleman, writing in Novr. from London, to another member of our Society, gives the result of research for another of our New England early families: "I made many enquiries of the family of Cheever, a most respected and useful character, without any effect. The name of Chivers (the same name) occurs in Town, as Drapers and Taylors. I always had a notion, that many of the Fathers would be in that state of life here, in which their families were likely to have issued local tokens. See 2 Annals of Commerce, 4to. pp. 390, 437, 560, 672. They were in that day small, of copper or brass, issued by tradesmen & innkeepers for their own

use and circulation (that is, between 1630 and 1700.) Knowing a Kentish young man, who had some coins, I applied to him, and was most agreeably surprised to receive one brass coin of the family of Cheever, which I will soon send to our friend. On one side, obverse, is James Cheever, with a hand grasping an antique pair of shears; reverse "In Canterbury 57," with a rose, round the edge; in the centre a rose (merely ornamental) and "J. C." 57 is 1657, it could be no other. I have a local coin of my own family, the date 1655; and I have others of the date. Of the scarcity of these coins I can speak: one of my family coins is in the Collection of the Duke of Cleveland, and besides my own I know no other. The shears have no holes for the fingers. This Cheever was of your New England family, and he was a Canterbury man. He was a draper, taylor, or perhaps an ironmonger. In those simple times these trades were very respectable. (See Life of Sir H. Davy, chap. I.)

I am making inquiries concerning a still more respected name in New England."

Selecting from Berry's County Genealogies, in many folios, that volume in which the Kent families are contained, and looking for one of our Old Colony settlers, on p. 30, 31, I find,

"William Tylden paid aid for lands in Kent, at the making the Black Prince a knight, 20th Edward III. from whom descended

William Tylden, of Wormshill, Co. Kent, Esq. ob. 23d Decr. 1613, and buried there in the back chancel.	=	Elizabeth, daur of James Tonge of Tunstall, Co. Kent, gent. ob. 3d June 1625, bur. at Wormshill in the back chancel.
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The succession is given down to

Tylden of Millsted, Esq. living in 1829.	=	Jane, daur. of Dr. Auchmuty, rector of New York, & coheirress to her brother Lieut. Gen. Sir Samuel Auchmuty, K. C. B. &c. &c.
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Sir John Maxwell Tylden
of Millsted, Co. Kent, a
lieut. col. in the army,
knighted 1812, as proxy
for his maternal uncle,
Gen. Sir Samuel Auch-
muty, G. C. B. at the
installation of the Knights
of the Bath in that year."

William Burton
Tylden, a major
in the Royal
Engineers.

Mary Isabella, mar.
Ralph Price, rector of
Lyminge, Kent.

The account proceeds: "The Tyldens are a very ancient family in this county, and appear to have separated into three distinct branches. The first, and the most ancient is here recorded. The second was originally of Tenterden, and went into Sussex; mention is made of this family in the visitation for that county. One of the Tenterden family went to America, with the Pilgrims, and has founded a numerous family of the name in that country, but they spell their name with an *i* instead of a *y*. The third branch settled at Ifield, in Kent, and spell their name with an *i*."

"In the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, William Tylden was settled at Wormshill in this county, and, from several remarks and notes in very old books, it appears that his brother was the clergyman of Brenchley, and there are memorials of the Tyldens in the churchyard; therefore it is presumed, that place was the original property of the family, and two farms in the adjoining parish of Marden are now called Great and Little Tilden." The author might have added, as my map shows, that the parish of Tilden is at no great distance. The termination, *den*, is very common in names of places in Kent, as *ham* is in Norfolk, and many other counties.

Of another Old Colony stock my friend, who is named in the following transcript, furnished the account: "The GORHAMS of New England probably emigrated from Benefield, near Oundle, in Northamptonshire. In Benefield Register of Baptisms we have the following entry, John Gorram, son of Ralph Gorram baptized Jan. 23, 1620-1; the name of Ralph is not found in any subsequent Register, though there are many entries of this family down to 1671; neither is the death of John his son recorded there. Hence it is certain that both Ralph and John quitted Benefield for some other abode. It was, probably, therefore this Ralph Gorram who had a grant of land in New Plymouth in 1637, and that John Gorram, who died of a fever at Swanzey,* while in command of a company in Philip's war, 5 Febr. 1675-6, was his son. John had sons, James, John, Joseph, and Jabez, as mentioned in Farmer's Genealogical Register,

* I. Mather's Hist. Indian Wars, 21.

Appendix. The second, John, was a colonel, and died at Barnstaple* in 1715, where there is a monumental inscription to his memory. He left a son John, who was sheriff of Barnstaple.

This family was descended from the De Gorrams of La Tanniere near Gorram, in Maine on the borders of Brittany, where William, son of Ralph de Gorram, built a castle in 1128. A branch came over to England with the Conqueror. One of the family occurs in 1086 at Coppenhall near Fressingfield, Suffolk, (Domesday II. 441.) Two others were Abbots of St. Albans, namely Geoffrey, from 1120-1146, and Robert, his nephew, from 1151-1166. The Abbots granted one of their manors, Westwyk, now Gorhambury, near St. Albans, and other property, to a favoured relative, whose descendants settled in Hertfordshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. Sir Hugh de Gorram died at Churchfield near Oundle in 1325. His eldest son sold Churchfield in 1332, from which time the family declined, but continued in that vicinity, at Benefield, Glapthorne, and King's Cliff, till the latter part of the 17th century. The only remaining branch of the Northamptonshire Gorhams settled at St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, about 1676, and remained there till 1840. It is still continued in the Revd. George Cornelius Gorham, B. D. late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, now of Remenham, near Henley on Thames, who, in the *Collectanea Topographica* (Vol. V. pp. 182-199, 329-345 and Vol. VI. pp. 284-289, and in Vol. VII.) has given an elaborate account of the Anglo-Norman family of his name, during the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries; and who possesses many antient Charters and seals of the Norman family, from 1162 to 1238, when it became extinct in France. The father of Ralph Gorram, above mentioned, who emigrated to New England, was James Gorram of Benefield, born cir. 1550, married 1572 Agnes Bernington, and died 1576. Ralph was born 1575."

Perplexity about *our* Sir Richard Saltonstall, called by Hutchinson (who is not often either so indistinct or erroneous) "son or grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Lord Mayor of London," was relieved by finding in Thoresby's

* My friend uses the English form of this name.

History of Leeds, Ed. 2, by T. D. Whitaker, LL. D. &c. Vol. II. 236: "Gilbert Saltonstall of Halifax had son, by his first wife, Samuel, who was father of Sir Richard Saltonstall,* knight, who married Grace, d. of Robert Kaye, Esq. and by her had son Richard, born at Woodsome 1610, obiit 1694, married Mariel d. of Brampton Gurdon, of Assington in Suffolk, Esq."

A lineal descendant of the Harlackendens, Charles K. Probert, Esquire, of Newport, near Bishop Stortford, having obtained my letter to Rev'd. Robert Watkinson, vicar of Earls Colne in Essex, to whom I had written for any information of the family above what Morant's Essex could afford, kindly undertook the task of reply. Besides favouring me with a pedigree purporting to begin in 1081, accompanied with an inscription of that date on the tomb of William Harlakenden, Esquire, of Woodchurch in the County of Kent, and illustrated with a "Nota q'd iste Willmus Harlakenden vocatus fuit de antiqua familia Harlakendeni in Woodchurch que cognoscitur tam per nomen Burgi alias The Boroughe of Harlakenden quam per nomen Speluncæ alias the Denne of Harlakenden," (which pedigree, embracing but twelve generations before its verification "under the hand of William Segar Garter King of Arms," may reasonably be thought to have lost a couple of hundred years,) he sent me the Arms of the Harlackendens of Earls Colne, handsomely tricked off, "the same as those borne by Richard and Roger and all the Essex branch of the family." It bears date 1635. Quarterly, Harlakenden, Willes, Londenoyes and Oxenbridge. 1st quarter. Azure, a fess erminè between three lions heads erased Or. langued Gules. By the name of Harlakenden. 2d. quarter. Argent a bordure Gules, within it three chevronels of the second. By the name of Willes. 3d. quarter. Or. three cross crosets fitchy Gules. By the name of Londenoyes. 4th. quarter. Gules within a bordure Vert. 11 scullop shells Argent, a lion rampant Argent, langued Azure. By the name of Oxenbridge.

Roger Harlakenden, apparently the first of the family in Essex, born Aug. 1541, died 21 Jan. 1602, married Eliza-

* "Sir Richard, Lord Mayor of London, 1597, was son of Gilbert by third wife." So, it appears, our patentee was his nephew.

beth, fil. Thomæ Hardres et relicta Georgii Harlakenden de Woodchurch, Arm. and had issue Richard, his second son, born 22 July 1568, died 22 Aug. 1631, married Margaret Hubbert, d. of Edwd. Hubbert, Esq. of Stansted. Mountfitchet, Essex. His eldest son, Richard, born 21 Decr. 1600, died 4 Sept. 1677 married Alice, d. of Henry Mildmay of Graces, Essex, about May 1630. His second son, Roger, born 1 Oct. 1611 at Earls Colne, married Elizabeth, d. of Godfrey Bosseville of Gunthwayte, County of Yorke, Arm. 4 June 1635, came to New England the next month. His seventh daughter, Mabell, born 27 Sept. 1614 at Earls Colne, accompanied her brother, and is said in this genealogy to have married John Haynes. Our Governor Haynes, who we know had large estate in Essex, was come over the year before Harlakenden.

Morant informs us, that Roger Harlackenden, Esquire, purchased from the Earl of Oxford, 2 Sept. 1583, for the sum of £2000 the manor and park of Earls Colne, with the appurtenances, and 5 messuages, 5 tofts, 5 gardens, 5 orchards, 1000 acres of arable, 200 of meadow, 600 of pasture, and 45s. rent. Henry, Earl of Oxford, the son, granted a release, 2 March 1622, to Richard and Thomas, sons of said Roger Harlackenden. See Vol. II. 211. He says, the family of Harlackenden was very ancient in Kent.

This Henry Mildmay, who was third son of Sir Thomas and his wife Alice, and so cousin of our first Govr. Winthrop, took for his second wife, says Morant II. 24. 25, Amia, d. of Brampton Gurdon abovenamed. William Mildmay, of Harvard College, 1647, was son of this gentleman, I think, rather than of Sir Henry, as Mather says. The regicide was of Mulsho, in the same County; but there were several families of the name.

From Lysons, *Magna Britannia* I. 137, of the parish of Stretley, I extract: "The family of Wingate had a seat at Sharpenhoe, a hamlet of this parish, for several generations; and here it was that Edward Wingate, the arithmetician, is said to have been born. — At this hamlet is a charity school for eight children, founded in 1686 by Richard Norton, and endowed with a rent charge of £10 per annum." My inquiry, about this family of Norton, from the clergyman of Luton, the nearest town to Stretley, because this parish was

vacant, produced no information. Of our John Norton Mather gives the birthplace Starford in the County of Herts, but as no such place can be found, the English authority of Brook in *Lives of the Puritans* III. 419 which makes it Storford in that County might be followed, did not the family tradition point to Sharpenhoe above mentioned.

It may be thought that of Revd. John Wilson, the first minister of Boston, every desirable point of knowledge is commonly possessed. Of his father, the Revd. William, Prebendary of Windsor, where our John was born, much is told in Ashmole's (*Elias*) *Antiquities of Berkshire* III. 157.

Sir Henry Chauncy published in 1700 the *History of Hertfordshire*, reprinted at Bishop Stortford, 1826; but though our Charles Chauncy, Vicar of Ware 1627-34, is mentioned in his place, no account of his origin, which was at Yardley in this same County, is given, though the author fondly recounts his own genealogy from the conquest.

Northampton furnishes a more abundant relation to our country than many of the inland counties. Brown, the founder of a short-lived opprobrious name of a sect, had a living in 1592, at Achurch, near Oundle, and a fair account of him is found in *Bridges' History*, 2 Vol. folio. ed. Oxford 1791 by Revd. Peter Whalley, II. 366. Baker, in his *History and Antiquities of the County*, which I regret to say will be left incomplete, besides his pedigree of the Washington family, supplies a candid account of Oxenbridge to take off the venom of honest Antony Wood. From him I take an inscription in the church of Dodford, because our Dr. Franklin's origin is from the immediate neighborhood. In I. 362 he gives it:

Elizabeth Francklyn
wife of Lemuel Francklyn vicar
of Little Horton who died
Novr. the 30th.
1685.

Examination of a Register of the diocese of Sarum, from early in the 13th century, printed by Sir Thomas Philips, a distinguished Antiquary, but never published, helped me to one or two of our New England divines from Wiltshire: Wilielmus Noyes p. m. at the church of Choldrington 1602, and

Nathan Noyes p. r. Wm Noyes at the church of West Chald-
rington 1621. I conjecture the meaning of p. m. here to be, by
removal; and p. r. pro rectore. Petrus Thatcher p. r. Hu-
gonis Williams at the church of St. Edmund, Sarum, by the
Bishop in 1622. Also Thomas Hotchkiss p. m. Johannis
Woodbridge, inducted at the church of Stanton juxta High-
worth 1637. Chaldrington, Choldrington, or Choulderton
is near Great Amesbury.

The baptismal name of Saxton, minister of Scituate,
which Mather failed to give, who returned home and was
settled at Leeds, is in Thoresby's Vicaria Leodicensis found
to be Peter.

At the Library in Red Cross street, London, usually
called Dr. Williams's, sometimes the Dissenters' Library,
were found some MSS. of collections about church affairs,
apparently compiled 150 years since, containing many bio-
graphical notices; but in three immense folios all that seemed
worth extracting follows:

"Mr. Thomas Allen, a Nonconformable Minister, son of
John Allen a Dyer in the city of Norwich of a competent
estate was born and baptized in that city in 1608. He was
educated in Caius College in Cambridge where he took the
degree of M. A. He was afterwards Minister of St. Ed-
munds in the said city of Norwich and was silenced by
Bishop Wren about the year 1636 (together with Mr.
Bridges and others) for refusing to read the book of sports
and conform to other things, or to conform to other innova-
tions then imposed. He fled into New England in the year
1638 and continued there till about the year 1651, and then
returned to Norwich where he was chosen Minister and so
continued till the 24th of August 1662 about eleven years.
Then he was ejected for Nonconformity, as near 2000 more
were, and thenceforward, preached upon all occasions he
could get, to a Congregational Church there till his death.

He married 1 Anne the daughter of Mr. Sadler of Patcham
in Sussex by his wife, the daughter of Shelley, by whom he
had a son named Thomas. 2 He married the widow of
Major Sedgwick, but by her he had no issue.

He writ a book, entitled "A Chain of Scripture Chronol-
ogy, from the creation of the world till the death of Jesus
Christ in 7 periods." London pr. 1659. There is before

it a Preface "To the judicious reader," written by William Greenhill, the 9th of the 6th mo (June) 1658. He was a very religious, able and practical preacher. This Mr. Thomas Allen died at Norwich in September 1673 in the 65 year of his age and was buried there.

Mr. Thomas Allen, the son of this Mr. Thomas Allen the Nonconformable Minister by Anne his first wife was educated first at school where he made very good progress and afterwards admitted of Lincoln's Inn. He is a very accomplished and ingenious gentleman but much depressed with melancholy, which renders him in a manner useless. He was living in Norwich in 1692.

I first borrowed and then bought that excellent large Book in folio of manuscripts and a great number of loose sheets in the year 1690. They were left him by his father, who was a very understanding person, and were formerly, as I have been credibly informed, Sir John Highams of Suffolk, a most religious gentleman and an eminent patron of the Puritans, and Patriot of his Country and a curious collector of choice manuscripts.

Robert Allen, brother to the said Thomas Allen the Nonconformable Minister was sheriff of Norwich in 1648, and was put out from being Alderman in 1660 upon the Restoration of King Charles II. The Alderman was living in 1692."

"Johannes Elliot junr. Coll. Jes. admissus in matriculam Academiæ Cant. Jul. 5 an. 1621. — Regr. Acad.

Tho. Eliot Coll. Jes. Art. Bac. an. 1623. Art. Mr. Coll. Jes. an. 1627.

Joh. Eliot non occurrit Art. Bac. vel Art. M.

An. 1622 May 15 Joh. Eliot has his grace (viz. in College) to commence B. A. spondente mro. Beale. (noted by Dr. Worthington from ye books.)

Johannes Eliot (sen.) Coll. Jes. conv. 2. admissus in matriculam Acad. Cant. Mar. 20, 1618 (Regi. Acad.) non occurrit A. B. vel Art. Mr.

But I must not be expected to derive knowledge from such disconnected, or discordant entries.

Much higher satisfaction may by some readers be felt on receiving my transcripts of the State Paper Office.

Gatherings at her Majesty's State Paper Office, transcribed 9 Sept. 1842. From Vol. XI of Papers relating to Trade and Plantations fol. 69.

"Right honorable,

After the performance of our most humble duties, may

it please your good lordships to receive hereinlosed a list of the names of such passengers as took shipping at this port for New England, and that only in April last, in the good ship called the James of London, whereof William Cooper went master. And this in due obedience and observance of your honours letter dated the last of December past. Thus we humbly take leave. Southampton the XIIth day of June 1635. Your lordships most humble servants.

THO. WALFRIS *Coll'r.*

N. DINGLEY *Compt'r.*

JOH. KNAPP *Search'r.*

Labelled "New England

12 June 1635."

"Passengers for New England."

Addressed "To the right honr'ble the lords of his Majesty's most honorable privie counsell, this at Whitehall,

LONDON."

"Southampton. A list of the names of such passengers as shipt themselves at the town of Hampton in the James of London of III C tonnes, William Cooper master versus New England in and about the VI of April 1635.

Augustine Clement, sometime of	Thomas Scoales of Sarum laborer
<i>Steadinge</i> paynter &c.	John Pike } of Langford labor-
Thomas Wheeler his servant	John Musselwhite } ers
Thomas Browne of Malford weaver	Sampson Salter of Caversham fisherman
Hercules Woodman of the same mer-	Henry Kinge of Brentsley laborer
cer	William Andrewes of Hampsworth
John & Stephen	carpenter
Evered alias Webb	John Knight } of Romsey taylers
Gyles Butler	Richard Knight } of the same weaver
George Coussens	Thomas Smithe of the same weaver
Thomas Colman	Nicholas Holte thereof tanner
Thomas Goddard	Robert Feild of Yealing laborer
John Pithouse	Anthoney Thetcher of Sarum tayler &c.
Anthoney Morse } of Marlborough	Peter Higden his servant
Willm. Morse } shoemakers	James Browne } youthes of Hampton
John Hide tayler	Laurence Seager } of about 17 yeares
John Parker carpenter	old
Richard Walker shoemaker	Henry Leverage } of Sarum taylers &c.
<i>Maurice</i> Ingles fuller	William Parsons } of Romsey carpen-
Thomas Davyes sawyer	John Emery } ters
Thomas Carpenter of Amsbury car-	Anthoney Emery }
penter	Willm Kemp servant

Willm. Paddey skinner	} late of Lon-
Edmund Hawes cutler	
Edmund Batter maulster	} don
John Smale his servant	
Michael Shafflin tayler	} late of
Josuah Verrin roper	
Thomas Antram weaver &	
Thomas Browne his servant	
George Smythe tayler	
Phillip Varren roper	
John Greene surgeon	
Zacheus Courtis of Downton laborer	
Henry Rose of Platford laborer	
Nicholas Batt of the Devizes linnen weaver	

The total number of these men, youthes and boyes are LIII persons. Besides the wives and children of divers of the.

N. DINGLEY *Compt'r.*

JOH. KNAPP *Search'r.*

THO. WULFRIS *Coll'r. ibidem.*

Hereunder follows, from the preceding volume, being X. of same collection fol. 22.

"Bristoll last of August 1632.

WORTHYE SIR, — Althought I am not knowne unto you, yet I cannot but sertifie you of the carrage of an unworthy person, on Sir Cristofor Gardner which is lately arrived here in Bristoll out of New England. He is a man I suppose you have herd of, for I am informed he hath in London two wives; about two years and some odd months he went from them both with a harlot into New England, where he remayned some spasse of tyme, before they had intelligence what he was. But in the ende on Isake Allerton cominge over, which testified to the Governor and Assistants that he had spake with on or both of his wives, this Gardner, understanding soe much, fearing he should be called in question, fled, thinking to have gon to the Duch plantation, and soe to have freed himselfe from them, but they speedely making after him, by the helpe of the natives of the country apprehended him and brought him backe, and he remayned with them some spasse of tyme. And then on Purchess, a man who liveth in the estern part of New England, comminge

to the Massatusets, there did he marrye with this Gardner's wench, and take her awaye and this Gardner both with him; which was done about 12 months since, where this Gardner remayned ever since, till the 15th of August last he appeared here in Bristoll, where he doth most scandeslye and baselye abuse that worthy Governor Master Winthrop with the Assistants and enhabitants who lyve under him, reporting that they are noe lesse then traytors and rebels against his Majestye, with divers others most scandols and aprobious speches, which on mye owne knolage is most falce, and sayth furthermore, that he was droven to swime for his lyfe, because he stooode for the king's cause. But the truth is, it was doutinge that they would have hanged him for his abigumie.

I could desire, that you would youse some menes to stope this fellos mouth. Yf I weare sertayne that his 2 wives ar yet alyve, I should be willinge to do mye best that the lawe might be exicuted upon him. Where they lyve, I knowe not, but in London I hear they ar. I would desire you, that you would enquire, whether they ar, and whether they ar yet alyve, and let me understand your minde in it. In the meane whylle I shall doe my best to take offe his falce aspersions which I hope I shall doe amonge honest men, and for others it matters not. Master Wintrop did tell me, he had write to you and to Master Umfris conserning me. I determine to come and may bee to bee with you. There was an ould acquaintance of mine, which was with me of late, on Lance, a marchant taylor now living In Gloster, which since my first acquaintance with him hath ben in some parts of the West Indes or the Careebo Ilandes, and as he pretendes to me hath goten expectance of a sertayne stabell commoditie which will bee verye beneficiallye for New England, where he desires to goe and to plant it there. I hope he is an honest man, which makes me to give some credit to him. I wished him to talke with Master Humfris and yourselfe about it, & yf you can finde any probibillitye, which I dout not but you will, In discoursing with him, you maye doe well to *furdor* him the Best you maye, for I assure you stabell commodities is the thinge they want there. I shall not need, I dout, declare the happy prosedinge and *welfare* of New England, but I dout not but you have hard it from others. But this I maye saye, the Lord hath ben verye gra-

sious unto them, and it is a wonder to me to see what maters theye have done In soe smalle a tyme. Thusse desiringe the Lords blessinge to bee upon you and all thosse that unfaynedly desire his glorye I humbelye take my leve and rest.

Yours to comand & all love,

THOMAS WIGGIN."

Addressed

"To his worthye frend
Master Downinge att his howse
In flete Strete nere
fleete Cundet

dde

LONDON."

—

Fol. 34 of same vol.

"Right hono^{ble}

Havinge lately bin in New England in America, and taken notice both of some comodities and advantages to this State wch that contrie will afford, and there havinge visited the plantations of the English and amongst the rest that especially in the Mattachusetts (being the largest best and most prospering in all that land) I have made bold to inform yo'r hono'r of some observations wch I have taken both of the contrie and that Plantation.

As for the contrie it is well stored with goodly Timber and Masts for shippinge, and will afford Cordage, Pitch and Tarr, and as good hempe and flax as in any pte of the world, growes there naturally fitt for cordage and sayles, whereof this kingdome will soone finde the benefitt, if the plantation proceed awhile without discouragemt. as hitherto it hath done.

For the plantation in the Mattachusetts, the English there being about 2000 people, yonge and old, are generally most industrious and fitt for such a worke, having in three yeares done more in buyldinge and plantinge then others have done in seaven tymes that space, and with at least ten tymes lesse expence.

Besides I have observed the planters there, and by their loving just and kind dealinge with the Indians, have gotten their love and respect and drawne them to an outward con-

formity to the English, soe that the Indians repaire to the English Governor there and his deputies for justice.

And for the Governor himselfe, I have observed him to bee a discreete and sober man, givinge good example to all the planters, wearinge plaine apparell, such as may well be-seeme a meane man, drinkinge ordinarily water, and when he is not conversant about matters of justice, putting his hand to any ordinarye labour with his servants, ruling wth much mildness, and in this particular I observed him to be strict in execution of Justice upon such as have scandalized this state, either in civill or ecclesiasticall government, to the greate contentmt of those that are best affected, and to the terror of offenders.

Of all wch. I myselfe havinge bin an eye witnesse am the rather induced to present the same to yo'r hono'r to cleare the reputation of the plantation from certain false rumors and scandales, wch. I perceive since my retorne to England some persons, ill affected to the plantations there, have cast abroad, as namely one Sir Christopher Gardiner, whoe leavinge two wives here in England, went with an other yonge woman into New England, there, being discovered by letters from England, he was seperated from his wench. A second is one Moreton whoe (as I am Informed by his wife's sonne and others) upon a foule suspition of Murther fled hence to New England, and there falling out with some of the Indians, he shott them with a fowling peice, for wch and other misdemeanors, upon the Indians complaint, his howse by order of Court there, was destroyed and he banished the plantation. A third was one Ratcliffe whoe as I am crediblie informed, for most horrible blasphemy was condemned there to lose his eares, whoe with the former two, and some other the like discontented and scandalous persons, are lately retorned hither, seekinge to cover the shame of their owne facts, by castinge reproaches upon the plantation, doe addresse themselves to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whoe by their false informations is nowe projectinge howe to deprive that plantation of the priviledges graunted by his Ma'tie and to subvert their government, the effects whereof will be the utter ruine of this hopefull plantation, by hinderinge all such as would goe to them, and drivinge those alredy planted there either to retorne, or disperse into other

places, wch I leave to your grave judgm't myselfe being none of theire plantation, but a neighbour by, have done this out of that respect I bere to the generall good. I have bin too breife in this relation in regard I feared to be over troublesome to yo'r hono'r. Soe I take leave and rest

The XIXth daye of Yo'r honors humble servant

November 1632.

THO. WIGGIN."

[This letter is evidently written in a hand different from that of the signer, but his signature varies materially from that of the prior letter, addressed to Downing, which is of the same with the body of *that* letter. Was one letter written by the father, and the other by the son? If so, this letter is from the son, and it is addressed]

"To the right hono'ble S'r John
Cooke knt. principall Secretary
to his Ma'tie and one of his
highnes most hono'ble privie
councill. These dr."

[10 Sept. 1842] fol. 41 of same vol.

"Right ho^{ble}.

Being last night at the Exchandge, I enquired what ship carpenters Mr. Winthrop the Governor had with him in New England. Where I was enformed by Mr. Aldersy, the lord keepers brother in law and Mr. Cradock, that the Governor hath with him one William Stephens a shipwright, soe able a man, as they beleive there is hardly such an other to be found in this kingdome, there be 2 or 3 others, but for want of theire names, I could not be satisfied of them. this Stephens hath built here manie ships of great burthen, he made the Royal Merchant, a ship of 600 tonns. this man as they enformed me had more regard to his substantiall performance, then the wages he was to receive, and soe grew to poverty, whereupon he was preparing to goe for Spayne, where he knew he should have wages answerable to his paynes, had not some friends perswaded him to N. England, where now he lives with great content; had the

State of Spayne obteyned him, he should have be'n as a pretious Jewell to them; I was further enformed that the plantation having warning this yeare, to accommodate themselves accordingle, will be able next yeare to build a shipp of any burthen; I have here inclosed sent yo'r hono'r the copie of the lords order, I pray God assist yo'r hono'r for the defence and mayntenance of this ho'ble work, and that those lewd and scandalous persons may receive their condigne punishem't, and the plantation proceed with incuradgemt. as yt doth observe, soe humbly craving pardon for this boldnes, dayly praying for yo'r honors health and happines to Gods glorie and the good of his church I rest

yo'r honors humble servant

3^o Ja. 1632

EM. DOWNINGE."

Addressed "To the right hono'ble Sr. John Coke knt. principall Secretary to his Ma'tie and one of his highnes most hono'ble privie councill. these dr.
at Court."

From Vol. I. of Papers called "New England Papers," fol. 145, 146.

"Most Honored Sir,

I receaved yours of the 14th of february last heer in Boston, by the hands of Cap. Baker the 28th of May, since which tyme I have had noe safe oportunitie to returne any answer. Sir In obedience to his Ma'ties comands I went imediately to the Governor to whome I shewed your letter and after a serious consultation with himselfe & some of others of aproved integrity and fidelity to his Ma'tie it was resolved to send some persons presently in persuance of Whaly & Goff, whoe were newly fled out of this jurisdiction, before your letters came, by reason the Governor had made a strict search for them, upon sight of a proclamation that came by way of Barbados hether wherein they were proclaymed Traytors; whereupon two persons were select-ed Mr. Tho. Kellond a marchant, & Mr Kirke cap. of a ship, who went hence the same day by post. The progresse

they made in this busines together with the Governours orders I have sent heer inclosed under the Secretarys hand, as also a copy of a letter & apollogy from one Mr. Davenport a minister, to me altogether unknowne.

Honored Sir, Haveing seriously considered of some expressions in your letter of his Ma'ties gracious acceptance of my former obedience and fidelity, as alsoe something of a more then ordinary earnestnes (as I conceive) in his Ma'ties desyre of those Coll. aprehensions, and their safe conveying to London, I thought it my duty and humbly intreat it may not be imputed to presumption, that I heer beg leave to informe your honor of some thing in reference thereunto, leaving the whole to your more exact and better judgment.

First, Sir, I conceive, and am of opinion, that these Coll. Whaly & Goff are still in this country and are concealed in some of the Southerne parts untill they may finde a better opertunity to make their escape; and for my ground of this believe, I have bin soe informed about two days since by one Mr. Pinchin and Cap. Lord two of the most considerable persons that live in those parts, with whome I have joyned mysele in a secrett designe, only knowne to us three, resolving to use my uttmost indeavor to aprehend & secure their persons and have great hopes to effect it, if they are in these parts; and have allreddy given these gentlemen all the incouragement I could by assuring them how acceptable a service it will be to his Ma'tie and beneficiall to themselves, to whome I have alsoe comunicated your letter to me.

I shall not presume, most honored Sir, to give you any further trouble in this, but only to intreat you to lett his Ma'tie know that in all humble duty and reverence I cast mysele at his most sacred feet, humbly acknowledging his great favor in those expressions of his gracious acceptance of my fidelity and obedience, intimated in your letter, for whose service I shall willingly hazard both life and fortune whenever he shall thinke me worthy that honor. and as to this particular concerning Whaly & Goff, as I have hetherto used all the dilligence & industry I am capable off, soe I shall still continue the same untill his Ma'ties comands are effected. And for your owne particular, Noble Sir, I have presumed to beseech this farther favor from you, that you would be pleased to cast your ey upon this enclosed paper

to yourselfe, when your leasure may permitt, it relates only to my owne affayres, which I durst not mingle with any thing concerns his Ma'tie. Soe most humbly and fervently recomending you to the safe protection of the Almighty, I remayne

Most honored Sir,
Your most humble and most obedient servant
T. TEMPLE."

Boston in N. E. the 20th
of August 1661.

Labelled "Boston 20 August, 1661
"From Coll. Temple to
Mr. Sec'y. Morice
about Goffe & Whalley."

Fol. 147 of same vol.

"Noble Sir,

Whom though unknowne to me by Face, as allso I am to yourselfe, I Honnour for your noble disposition & for your neare Relation, to my, Ever Honoured, Lord, Viscount, Say And Sele, unto whom I have bene continually neare 40 yeares Past, Exceedingly obliged for Sundry Testimoneyes of his Speciall Favors towards me when I lived in London, & when I was in Holland, & after my Returne thence to London, And since my abode in this Wildernesse, which hath bine above 24 yeares. If the most high hath taken him From us, by Death, as I am Informed he hath, The King hath lost the Best of his Peeres & Counsaleirs for Godley Wisdome & Faithfulnesse, The Church and People of god an Assured Pattron, The Commons and Parliament a most Emminent Patriott, the Nobility a Singular Pattiren and ornament, And my Poore Worthlesse Selfe a most Honorable & Faithfull frend, And that in a time when I have most need of his helpe, which I am assured Would not have Failed my Confident Expectation, if any Complaint against me had bene Presented to his Honor with the rest of his Maj'ties most Hono'ble Councill. Multis ille Bonis Flebilis occiditt, Nulli Flebilior quam mihi. Yet as long as his right honorable Son, my lord Fines liveth, he cannot Die,

For in him & I hope in his Posterity that Noble Familiey will be like that Golden tree the Boughes and Branches whereof Flourished in a Continuall Succession.

Uno Avulso non deficiat alter
Aureus Et Simili Frondescens Virga Mettallo.

Sir, being Encouraged by some Expressions of your good affection toward mee, Brought to my Knowledge by one who came lateley, from Boston, heither, I take the Boldnesse to desier this Favor, that you would be pleased to cast your eyes uppon the Enclosed Appoligie, which I formerly Transmitted to the Deputy Govenor of Massachusets to be by him Communicated to the General Courte. In it you will Find myne Innocyency in Referance to the 2 Collonells to be shuch as might secure me From all feare of Danger & Futher molestation from his Ma'tie in that Respecte, yet because I am sensible of of Possible misrepresentations of mine actions, & Intentions, I humbly Crave leave to Intreate you to lay up in the Repositorie of your minde, your memorie, The true State of my Case that you may Speake a good an Seasonable word of truth in the Cause of the Dumbe & deafe, when God shall have Brought you in Safety to London, as occasion may be offired in the King's Courte, would my age which is past the great Climactericall yeare, & the weakness of my Boddy, which is under sensible decacies as well Shute with so long a Voyage as my minde is Propense to it, I should not Fear to answer anything that can be Suggested or objected against mee, in his Ma'tie presence, being Confident in the King's Justice and æqunimitie, that uppon a faire hearing I should be acquitted, & some in Boston who raile against mee, should have their Injurious mouthes Stopped, what Libbirty is denyed unto me, if God Inclyne & Encourage your hearte theirunto, a word From your noble selfe Spoken in Season may be blessed of god to make up, with advantage, & to worke Favorable & Right apprehensions and perswasions of mee in his Ma'tie & shuch of his most Hono'ble Councells as you maye have occasion of Discourse with aboute these matters.

This is my great Intendment in this lines, humbly to Crave your mindfulnessse of me & helpfulnesse Toward mee in this Exigent, And not for myselfe alone doe I make this humble Request, But also on the Behalfe of this Poore Col-

loney & of our Govenor & majestrates, who wanted neither will nor Industery to have served his Ma'tie in apprehending ye 2 Collonells, but were Prevented & Hindered by gods overruiling Providence, which withheld them that they Could not Exciquite their true Purpose therein; And the same Providence Could have done ye same, in the Same Curcumstances, if they had bine in London, or in the Tower, The Case was thus, The Collones hearing that some who had Entertained them, at their Houses, were in Extreme danger, uppon that Accompt to Prevent the same, Came from another Colloney where they were, & had bine sometime, to N. H : Professing, that their true Intentions, in their Coming at that time was to yeld themselves to be apprehended, for the afforesaid Purpose & accordingly they staid 2 dayes, This was knowne in the Towne, The D. G. waited for the Comming of the Govenor & other majestrats to this towne on the 2d. day, which they also did according to Former Aggrement, Imediately uppon their Coming together, they fell into a Consultation, being out of any Feare of that which Followed, Before they had Issued their Consultation which was not long, the Collonels were gon away, no man knowing how nor whether, Thereuppon a Diligent Search was Renewed, & many were sent Forth on Foote & horsebacke, to recover them in to their hands, But all in vaine. I belive if his Ma'tie Rightly understood the Curcumstances of this Event he would not be displeased with our majestrates, but to acquiesce in the Providence of the most high well Knowing that the way of man is not in himsele, but god worketh all things according to the Counsaile of his owne will, It is now high time that I begge pardon for putting so much trouble uppon you, & that I Conclude with my Prayers to him, whom windes & seas obey to Fill your sailes with Favorable windes & to Carrie your Person as uppon Eagles winges Far above the reach of all hurtfull Dangers, till he shall have landed you safe at your desiered Port, & then to make you a Blessed Instrument of some good unto this Poore Colloney & to mysele, For which I shall Remaine

Noble Sir, your Humble Servt. & obliged

Faithfull Frend

JOHN DAVENPORT.

N. H y'e 19th day of ye 6 mounth

Called Augst. 1661.

Sir,

If my lord Saye be yet in vivis, be pleased to Communicate ye inclosed to him, with ye reason of my not writing to his honor at Present, & my Earnest desier of his Favorable helpe, that ye King may be rightly informed Concerning me in this matter ; if you shall find he is not in ye land of ye living my humble request is the same to my lord Fines. But if his honor have not Sufficient Interest in those about his ma'tie for shuch a purpose, my Intreaty to yourselfe is ye same aforementioned. Allso if the Deputy Govenor Mr. Bellingham hath not Rec'd. yt. Letter & ye Appologie to ye General Courte wch I sent above 5 weekes since be pleased to let him peruse this & gett a Coppie of it (I meane ye appologie) transcribed & Retturne yours againe to your Noble Selfe, to be Improved as you find opertunity to ye best advantage on my behalfe, lastley lett it please you to accept a booke newly come forth wch I make bold to Present unto you for a vade mecum, in your voyage at sea, & for an helpe to Fix your Anchor aright when you come to land & for ever, ye lord Jesus be with you both at sea & land & to Eternity as a mighty Saviour
Amen Farewell, interim."

[12 Sept. 1842.] From Vol. II. of New England Papers, fol. 56.

" Right honourable,

In obedience to your hon'rs comands I have sent yu herew'th as full and true an Answer as I am capeable to give unto the 27 heads of Inquyrie, I received from your hon'rs by our agents, this being the first opertunyty that hath presented, since my receipt thereof, hoping of your hon'rs favourable acceptance thereof & satisfaccon thereby. And I do most humbly desire, that his ma'tie and your Lordships were truely and fully informed of the state and condicon of this his ma'ties Colony of the Massachusetts, and the temper, loyalty and good affeccion of his dutifull subjects here. For I understand, that there hath bene several misinformacons presented to his ma'tie and amongst others, that the Inhabitants here have not right to Land or Government but

are Usurpers, that we have protected the murtherers of his ma'ties Royall Father in Contempt of his ma'ties proclamation of the 6th of June 1660, which is manestly untrue. And that we violate all the acts of trade and navigation &c. whereby his ma'tie is damaged in his Customes to the value of 100,000£ yearly, and the kingdom much more, when as by the strickest inquiry that I can make of merchants, unconcerned, and others there hath never bene 5000£ irregularly traded by the merchants of this place in a yeare. It is true now and then, a small vessell or two may slip asyde to France or Holland &c. which the greatest care and diligence can hardly alwayes prevent, yet the damage to his ma'tie is inconsiderable being only for goods imported; for what they carry from hence, the full custome is payd att the place from whence they first bring them, being the groath of some other of his ma'ties plantacons, and if they carry them to England, which generlly is done, they pay the Custome againe, of which our merchants much complaine, and is a temptacon to them to carry some pt. of them elsewhere; but if once discovered, it will make satisfaccon for many transgressions. And whatever omissions have bene formerly, I hope hereafter will be carefully redressed. Mr. Randolph, his ma'ties Collect'r here, hath bene very active, and diligent, in the discharge of his place & trust ever since he came hither, and hath had as much helpe and assistance from myselfe as I was able to afford, or hee in reason could desire, wch I doubt not, but hee will alwayes readily acknowledge, yet I doe not heare that hee hath mett with any forfeits in this place, that hee hath seene cause to bring to tryall: hee hath sometyme complained to mee of some affronts and discouragemt. wch. hee hath mett withall in words, which would have bene severly anymadverted upon could the persons offending have bene knowne. It is true that the people here shew him lyttle respect, or good affeccion, because they generally looke att him as one that beares noe good will to the Country, but sought the ruin of it, by being a meanes and instrument highly to incense his ma'tie and y'r honers against this poore place, and people, for which they are deeply senceable and sorrowfull, which noe thing but the shines of his ma'ties gracious Countenance, and your hon'rs just fav'r and

indulgence can remove and make glad ; which with pardon
for this bouldnes and trouble is humbly implord by

Your hon'rs humble and
most obedient Ser'vt.

SIMON BRADSTREET."

Boston 18 May 1680

The Lords of his Ma'ties Pr. Councill

Addressed

"For the Right honourable, the Lords of
his ma'ties most hon'able privy Council
being a Committee for trade and For-
reigne Plantations.

theis humbly
present."

Labelled

"From the Governor of The Massachusetts
with Answers to Inquiries. Rec'd. the 23 June 1680."

Fol. 58, 59, 60, 61, 62 of same vol.

An Answer of the Governor of his Majesties Colony of
the Mattachusetts in New England to severall heads of In-
quiry pursuant to the Order of the Right Honoble the Lords
of his majesties privy Council, appointed a Comittee for
trade and forreign plantations.

1°. Wee have one Generall Court or Assembly yearly
for the Election of the Governor, Deputy Governour and
Assistants chosen by the Freemen of the Company, who
being so chosen are the standing Council of this Government.
Wee may also have three more General Courts consisting
of Governor, Deputy Governor Assistants and Freemen
who have the Legislative power for making Laws rayseing
mony's, granting Lands Setling Townships &c^a.

2°. Wee have yearely two Courts of Assistants held by
the Governor Deputy Governor & Assistants and may have
as many more as the occasion of the Corporation requires.
This is the highest ordinary Court of Judicature which we
have, and to which belongs the issuing of Appeales from
Inferiour Courts, and tryal by Jurys of all capital Offenders

and maritime or Admiralty cases without a Jury according to the Sea Laws &c^a.

3°. Our Limits by pattennt as now stated is divided into four parts or Countys, in every of which (for the ease of the people) there are held County Courts, kept by such magistrates and other fit persons as are appointed by the General Court, who have power to heare and determin all cases in that County civil mixt or criminall, not extending to life member or banishment, with liberty for any party greived to Appeale to the Court of Assistants.

4°. Our Statutes, Laws and orders are many, contained in a printed Booke too many and large to transcribe, Some whereof are repealed and more may suddenly bee as any of them may be found repugnant to the Laws of England or otherwise inconvenient.

5°. Wee have no standing Forces, but in our four County's about Forty townes in every of which generally there is a foote Company of listed soldiers, some bigger some lesser, trayned six times in a yeare; in Boston there are eight Company's, in Salem two, and in some other Townes there may bee two, where the Company's are compleate, they have a Capt'n. Lt. and Ensigne &c^a. The lesser Company's commanded by inferiour Officers, in each County there is a Serjeant major, and over the whole a major Generall: Wee have also Six or Seven troopes of horse, all well armed both horse and foote, every Soldier by Law being required to bee alwaies furnished and have in a readiness one pound of powder with bullets match &c^a. proportionable, and every Towne to have alwaies in readiness one barrell of powder for fifty Soldiers, and so proportionable, as a Town Stocke, this besides the Country's magazine.

6°. Wee have onely one Castle scituated upon an Island in the Bay about 3 or 4 miles from Boston, that commands the channel by which ships must pass to the Towne of a considerable strength furnished with about thirty guns, and a platforme by the water side, in the Towne and before the harbour, there is a Blockhouse and severall platformes or Battery's with guns mounted, and the like at Charlestowne to secure and defend the harbour. At Salem likewise there is a small Fort with some few guns in the Towne. The Castle in the Bay is kept with a small garrison in time of

peace, but may suddenly bee strengthened by Soldiers from the Adjacent Town's listed and in readines for that Service, and competently provided with victuals and Amunition.

7°. No privateers or pyrates frequents our Coasts: It may bee, once in Seven or ten yeares a prize may bee brought into our Harbour. About two yeares since one Capt. Bernard La Moyne a Frenchman brought hither a Dutch prize taken upon the Coast of Cuba by himselfe and some Englishmen, that assisted him, together with several wounded Dutchmen, which was a trouble and charge to us, one yet remaining amongst us decrepiti and unfit for service. But the cargo was Sold or disposed of before the Ship came under comand, two or three more ships of the same company taken by him, hee or his men carryed into New York Road Island &c^a.

8°. The Strength of our Bordering Neighbours is not great, either English, French or Indians; The greatest strength of the Indians now since the Warr are the Maquees living about two hundred miles westward of us towards Canada, with whome wee have ever had Friendship since wee came hither; but of late are somewhat jealous of them, by reason of their receiving and entertaining severall of our Indian Enemies that fled from these parts in the time of the warr, & have carried it unhandsomly since towards our Freind Indians who are o'r Neighbours.

9°. Wee have little or no commerce with the French at Canada, they are reported to be four or five thousand men settled in severall plantations; They at Nova Scotia are but few and weake both at Sea and Land; wee keepe freindship with them and those at Canada, as with all other our Neighbours English & Indians, and of other nations here are none.

10°. Our bounds as now stated by his Majesty from three miles Northerly of Merrimack River to our Southerly line where wee joine to Plimouth Line, is by Land betwixt Forty and Fifty miles; but by Sea (the Land bending inwards) not more than eight or ten Leagues, and so to run in a streight line at both ends through the maine Land from Sea to Sea, the contents of Acres not to bee calculated, nor can it be knowne how much manurable Land there is im-

proved or unimproved. In generall the Country is full of rocky hills Swamps and other unprofitable Land and useless ground, not one Acre of ten or twenty in many places manurable or improvable for tillage or hardly for pasturage.

11°. The principall Townes of trade within our Government are Boston Charlestown and Salem, some little trade there is for Country people at Ipswich & Newberry &c^a. the buildings in the Country are generally of timber, many fortified with strong pallisados a good security against the Indians arrows and small shot: In Boston there are some houses of Brick and stone of competent strength and largeness sutable to the condition of the Owners: Since the last great fire in Boston, that consumed about two hundred houses besides warehouses &c^a. It is endeavoured and ordered that all should bee built in the places thereof with brick or Stone; which yet will hardly bee attained by reason of the poverty of the Inhabitants.

12°. There are as many precincts and divisions within our Government as there are Town's vizt. about Forty. In Boston there are three large Churches or meeting houses to wch belongs four ministers, the other Town's generally have one minister some two.

13°. Our chiefe Rivers are Merrimack navigable for small Vessells about twenty miles and Charles River, our harbours, Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Gloucester, and Marblehead capable to receive Ships of good burthen.

14°. Wee have few or no manufactures as yet vendible in Forreign parts (at least considerable) the Cloth, both woolen and Linnen, Shoes, hats &c.^a made here are used and spent in the Country; our Staple comodities are fish, some peltry mostly traded with, or brought in by our Neighbours, horses, provisions, Cyder, boards timber pipestaves, mackaril and Fish hath formerly been more beneficiall for trade with other his Majesties plantations in America, then now they are, wherewith our merchants produced Sugars Rhum Indigo cotton wool Tobacco &c.^a which they transport usually in their own Vessels to England; Some pipe staves, fish, mackarel &c.^a wee send to Madera and western Islands, which procures wines for the use of the Country, and some to trade with other English plantations.

Wee have good timber for Shipping tarr pitch and Iron

made in the Country, though in noe great Quantity, hempe and Flax grow's well here, but labour so deare that it can not bee made a commodity to send to other parts; but is onely improved by the Country people for their own occasions: Wee have all our Rigging for Ships generally out of England much cheaper then it can bee made here, the truth is the Country in generall is very poore, and very hard it is for them to cloath themselves and Familys, especially since the great charges and taxes have been upon them, by reason of the late Indian warr, thô for victuall they make a reasonable good shift being a very laborious and industrious people and having Lands of their own. For at our first comming hither and ever since Lands were allotted and Townships granted freely without any purchase or reservation of Rent, otherwise it was foreseen, the people would have been discouraged & the Country not Subdued and improved as now it is. The Comodities imported hither from England are of all sorts generally which that Land affords and may amount to the value of Forty or Fifty thousand pounds yearely.

15°. Some little tryal there hath been of makeing Saltpeter here, which there is no question but by Art may be done, but at so dear a rate by reason of the great wages, wee give for labour at present as makes it incapable of being a comodity vendable in England, but to much loss.

16°. There may bee neer twenty English merchants within our Government bred up to that calling, and neer as many others that do trade and merchandize more or less; but Forreign merchants of other Nations we have none. — Planters and Servants wee have no certain Account of their number, but are in the generall intimated before; we account all generally from Sixteen to Sixty that are healthfull and strong body's both householders and Servants fit to beare Armes, except Negros and Slaves whom wee arme not.

17°. There have been very few English come to plant in this Jurisdiction for Seven yeares past and more, and few or no Scots Irish or Forreigners in the like space, they rather go to Carolina or other places more comodious and less inhabited, for with us all the Lands neer the Sea Coast are appropriated and improved, and up into the

Country is more difficult (especially for new comers) to plant and Subdue, and must be done by the Setled Inhabitants by degrees, as divers Towns already have been. — There hath been no Company of blacks or Slaves brought into the Country since the beginning of this plantation, for the space of Fifty yeares, onely one small Vessell about two yeares since after twenty months' voyage to Madagasca brought hither betwixt Forty and fifty Negro's most women and Children Sold here for ten 15£ and 20£ apeice, which stood the merchants in neer 40£ apeice one with another : Now and then, two or three Negro's are brought hither from Barbados and other of his Majesties plantations, and sold here for about twenty pounds apeice, So that there may bee within our Government about one hundred or one hundred and twenty, and it may be as many Scots brought hither and sold for Servants in the time of the warr with Scotland, and most now married and living here, and about halfe so many Irish, brought hither at severall times as servants.

18°. There a very few blacks borne here I thinke not above or Six at the most in a yeare, none baptized that I ever heard of, the number of whites born yearly I cannot give an exact Acco't of, but Suppose there may bee four or five hundred born one yeare with another, most baptized except the Anabaptists who will not and some others that do not desire it.

19°. As for marriages there are about two or three hundred yearely it may bee somewhat more.

20°. I thinke that ordinarily there are more born then dye in a year, except in the time of the Indian Warr and the small pox about two year's since, wherein many more dyed then was borne ; for the warrs consumed Seven or eight hundred and the small pox no less.

21°. It's hard to give a true and certain estimate of merchants Estates, which many cannot do themselves ; but there are two or three in our Corporation that may bee worth Sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds apeice, some few others worth eight or ten thousand pounds apeice, a third sort worth four or five thousand pounds apeice, and some worth little or nothing ; Few planters or Country people have any great Estates, hee is accounted a rich man in the Country that is worth one thousand or Fifteen hun-

dred pounds, where Land is esteemed far above the true worth, or proportionable to the rent that it will give, and it must bee a very great stock of cattle that will amount to five hundred pounds, and more then ordinarily any man in the Country keepes, they bearing no greater price here then in England if so much, the wealth of our Colony is rather in conceit then in reality.

22°. There about one hundred or one hundred and twenty Ships Sloopes Katches and other Vessells that trade to and from hence yearly of our own or English built, most of them belonging to this Colony ; wee have eight or ten Ships of one hundred ton's or upwards, three or four of two hundred ton's or more, and about forty or Fifty fishing Katches of betwixt twenty and Forty ton's ; Six or eight English Ships do usually come hither yearly belonging to the Kingdom of England, bringing comodities of all sorts from thence.

23°. The obstructions wee [meet] with in our trade is the generall decay of any profitable trade in the places wee mostly trade unto, viz^t. to all his Majesties plantations in America, where wea vend our horses, boards timber provision, mackaril fish, &c^a. for the comodities of those places which are spent here or transported into England, but finde those markets many times so overlaid and clogged with the like comoditys from England Ireland and other places, that many of our comodities are sold at cheaper rates many times then they were worth at home. 2^{ly}. The Algeir men of warr infesting the Seas in Europe have taken some of our Ships and men, which is a discouragement to our trade and navigation. 3^{ly}. The French at Nova Scotia, or Acada (as they call it) do interrupt our Fishers in those parts, and Sr. Edmond Andros Governour of New Yorke for his highness the Duke of Yorke doth the like betwixt the French and Pemaquid, requiring duty to be paid to them by all our Vessells that fish in those Seas, otherwise threatning to make prize of them, which hath been alwaies formerly free for his Majesties Subjects for Fishing ever since we came hither : Wee humbly pray to understand his Majesties pleasure herein. 4^{ly}. The double custom which our merchants pay for Sugar Indigo Cotton wool Tobacco &c^a. first at the places from whence they fetch these comodities,

the greatest part whereof is transported from hence to England, where they pay the full custome again.

24°. The greatest advantage and improvement of our trade and incouragement of this poore plantation will bee his Majesties gracious Favour and protection of us (and of your Honors under him) in the free and full injoyment of all our liberties and priviledges granted by his Royal Father of blessed memory, and confirmed by his present Majesty in his gracious Letter of 22th. of June 1662 with an additionall gracious and princely promiss to advance the benefit trade and welfare of this his Majesties Colony by his utmost indeavour. 2^{ly}. A free trade, if it may stand with his Majesties pleasure (at least for some few ships for some time) in regard of that low condition, with this Colony is now reduced unto by the late Indian warr, wherein (for the safeguard of our Selves & neighbours) wee expended above Forty thousand pounds, and the two great fires in Boston, the first whereof consumed above 70 houses the latter about 200 dwelling houses, with many Warehouses, whereby it is thought the third part (at least) of the wealth of Boston was consumed.

25°. Wee impose no rates or duty's upon goods exported they being generally the produce of the Country got with hard labour and sold at low prizes, or such as have paid large Custom's to his Majesty at the ports from whence they are brought hither, and but one penny per pound upon goods imported, when they come into the merchants hands, which is the tax we have set upon houses Lands cattle and other Estate of the Country yearly, which with twenty pence per head poll money, and a small rate upon wine Rhum Cyder beare &c.^a amounts neer Fifteen hundred pounds per annum, which is all the tax and revenue we have for the support of the Goverment, Salary's to Officers, charges of Fortifications, garrison at the castle &c.^a but in the time of the Indian warr, were forced to have 10 or 15 of those rates upon all mens Estates in a year which hath much impoverished the Country, and yet we remain much in debt to this day.

26°. Our Religion in matters of Doctrine which wee profess, is the same with the Churches of England Scotland and Ireland, and other reformed Orthodox Churches in Eu-

rope &c^a. As to the Discipline and Goverment of the Church, that which is owned and practized generally by ministers and people as with one consent is that which is called the Congregationall way (except some few Anobaptists generally of the meanor sort to the number according to my best estimation of about Eighty or one hundred, and neere halfe so many Quakers which hold their seperate meetings; the latter wee cannot account amongst the number of Christians, haveing denyed the Faith and the Lord Jesus Christ to bee the Saviour of mankind and by their tenents overthrowing all the fundamentall points of Christian Riligion, as appeares in their printed bookes, whose principles (as his Majesty well observes in his gracious Letter of 28 June 1662) are inconsistent with any kinde of Government.

27°. Wee have as many Churches as Townes except two or three not yet fully Setled, and a minister belonging to every one of them; some have two apeice, so through the mercy of God wee want none; but some able Schollars fit for the ministry rather want imploiment. And for the instruction of the people they generally preach twice on the Lords dayes, besides Lectures, in some of the biggest Townes on the weeke dayes, and chatechizeing of Children, and the youth of the place as they have oppertunity. As to the maintenance of ministers in Boston, it is by a voluntary, weekly, contribution, well pleasing to ministers and people, but in the rest of the Townes generally by a yearly Assesement of all the Inhabitants of the place; which they freely assent unto, the severall Courts takeing speciall care that all ministers have comfortable maintenance allowed them according to the poor ability of the place and people. Wee have no beggars and few idle Vagabonds, except now and then some Quakers from Road Island &c^a. that much molest us and endanger the seducing of the people, where they come. And all Townes are enjoined by Law to take care of and provide for all the poore decayed and impotent persons within their respective limits, which accordingly they doe.

Finished these transcriptions 14 Sept. 1842.

There is a printed proclamation, with the seal on the top,
 "To our Brethren and Friends, the Inhabitants of the

Colony of the Mattachusetts," "dated in Boston the 7th of December, 1675." "By the Council, Edward Rawson Secret." It relates altogether to the war with the Indians, to explain its origin, and justify its necessity. There is a letter, or copy of one, from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, dated about 1637, in which it is plain he was to have been Governor General of the New England Colonies, if happy circumstances had not defeated that project. A catalogue of Harvard College of 1674, printed on a single Broadside, having the masters indicated to 1671 inclusive and bachelors of the later year, is dedicated, like the old fashioned Theses, to John Leverett, &c. &c. and the Vice Governors, &c. &c. signed L. H. initials of President Hoar. Besides these, an enumeration of the inhabitants of Virginia, in the early part of 1635, in the several small settlements respectively, not one exceeding 900, and the aggregate being 5059, including 145 just arrived from Bermudas, if my memory carried the particulars correctly, may be found.

Sufficient importance did not attach to these papers, or several others, to engage my time. Of the liberality, with which the use of such materials is permitted, the agent of the State of New York will soon furnish most abundant evidence, if the expense of making copies be not too great for the contemplated value. As my own researches were less dignified in object and less comprehensive in extent, it may not be amiss to give the manner of application and the reply.

The Undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, has the honor to acquaint the Earl of Aberdeen, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that Mr. James Savage, of Boston in the United States, has lately arrived in London, for the purpose of pursuing his inquiries into the personal history of the first settlers of New England; — a subject on which he has already bestowed much successful labor. Mr. Savage's researches are exclusively literary and historical, undertaken solely to gratify a liberal curiosity and to throw light on the character of the founders of his native country. He has no political object whatever,

and does not wish to pursue his investigations below the year 1688.

The Undersigned requests that Mr. Savage may have access to the books in the State Paper office, including those lately removed from the Board of Trade, under such restrictions as Lord Aberdeen may think proper ; — and the Undersigned cheerfully pledges himself, on behalf of Mr. Savage, that he will make use of the permission, if granted to him, in good faith, for the sole object for which it is sought.

[Signed]

EDWARD EVERETT.

46 Grosvenor Place,
29 June, 1842.

Lord Aberdeen presents his compliments to Mr. Everett, and in reply to his note of the 29th instant, requesting that Mr. James Savage of Boston, may be permitted to examine certain Records in the State Paper Office down to the year 1688, with a view to elucidate the early history of New England, has the honor to inform Mr. Everett, that orders have been given that Mr. Savage may have free access to the volumes of the State Papers prior to and including the year 1688, with reference to the object which Mr. Savage is stated to have in view.

Mr. Savage will however, like Mr. Brodhead, be expected to pursue his examination of the Volumes submitted to him in the presence of an Officer of the State Paper Office, to mark with slips of paper such Papers as he may wish to have Copies or Extracts of, and not to transcribe, or make Extracts of any of them, until the Papers so indicated shall have been examined and allowed on the part of Lord Aberdeen.

Foreign Office,
July 2, 1842.

Probably the visit to Boston, in Lincolnshire, and partial examination of its records may vindicate a claim to short notice here.

On 13 August the Records of the Municipal government were by the Mayor submitted to my inspection with full liberty to make extracts. Few formal statements of such

concerns as necessarily occupied the deliberations of Aldermen and Common Councilmen in a Provincial town two hundred years since may seem worth copying, and I selected but two dates out of a long lapse of time: "At an Assembly there holden upon Friday the xxth. day of October 1620, before the Maior, Aldermen and Common Council,"

(Here are names of absent Aldermen)

(Absent Councilmen)

The first article mentioned in the record of this meeting is receipt of payment of a sum of money from Sir John Read.

"Item at this Assembly there is delivered out of the Treasury to Thomas Leverett the sum of £5. xviii. 9*d*. expended by him in riding to London, and charges in Law, and for two messengers sent this last vacation, & for money expended by Mr. Askham for the copy of the Demurrer this last vacation about the town's land now in suit in the Chancery."

"At an Assembly holden at the Guildhall of the Borough of Boston in the County of Lincoln this xxiith day of July 1633 before the Maior, Aldermen & Common Council ;

At this Assembly Mr. John Cotton late Vicar of Boston yielded up his place of being Vicar by his letter dated in July 1633, which this house have accepted.

At this Assembly Mr. Atherton Hough, an Alderman of this Borough, hath surrendered his place of Aldermanship within this Borough by his letters under his hand this day delivered & read at this Assembly, and this house hath accordingly accepted the same.

At this Assembly Mr. Thomas Leverett, an Alderman of this Borough hath surrendered his place of Aldermanship within this Borough by his letters under his hand delivered and read at this Assembly, and this house hath accepted thereof accordingly.

At this Assembly there was an intimation delivered to the Maior & Burgesses of this Borough from the right honorable John, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, by the hands of Mr. Thomas Cony of this town, intimating that the eight of July 1633 Mr. John Cotton, late Vicar of Boston, had resigned his said vicarage to the said Bishop, and that the said Lord Bishop did the same day at his house in the College of Westminster accept of the same resignation, and did then

pronounce the same vicarage to be actually void of Incumbent, and that he did then by the said Thomas Cony intimate to the Maior & Burgesses of Boston the voydance of the same to the end that the said Maior and Burgesses may when they please present some able person thereunto."

Forthwith the Corporation proceeded, as the Record shows, and made choice of Mr. Anthony Tuckney to be their Vicar. He, we know, became one of the most celebrated divines in England, was appointed one of the famous Westminster Assembly, and afterwards Master of Emanuel College, and Vice Chancellor of the University.

Of our Samuel Whiting of Lynn, Farmer has told, that he was son of John, mayor of Boston. The family was in high repute there, we may infer, for Thompson's History of the Borough shows, that John was mayor in 1600, and again in 1608, that John Whiting junr., probably son of the former, and brother of our divine, was Mayor in 1626, and John Whiting, reasonably to be regarded as the same gentleman, was in the same office in 1633 and again 1644 and 1655. Skirbeck church, where S. Whiting was minister, is less than a mile from Boston, which is in Shirbeck wapentake, the river Witham dividing the parishes.

In 1628 Atherton Hough was Mayor, this office being filled from the Board of Aldermen, and I doubt not it was the same man, and not, as Farmer supposes, his son, who resigned his place of Alderman, according to the record above, in 1633, when about to accompany his spiritual guide to our country, where they arrived 4 Septr. of the same year.

By the same authority of Thompson we learn, that Richard Bellingham was Recorder of Boston from 1625 to 1633. He came in the following year, not, as Hutchinson implies, 1635.

Commock, known to our early historians as a nephew of the Earl of Warwick, I found a common family name at Boston in those times, when the records also mention an Edmund Jackson, a Thomas Scott, besides a John Wright, who was an Alderman in 1630. It may not be a worthless conjecture, that persons bearing those names here a few years later were all drawn by the influence of Cotton to be of his flock or neighborhood on this side of the ocean, if they had been taught by him in old England.

For giving the two following letters, of which the originals are in possession of one of our countrymen, domiciled in London, though they are not connected with our early history, yet being letters of Washington, hitherto unpublished, who kept no copies of them, in the opinion of Professor Sparks, apology must be unnecessary.

Copy of a letter from Washington, addressed "To the Hon. I. Palmer, Watertown."

(All in his handwriting, well known to me. J. S.)

"CAMBRIDGE, Aug. 7th, 1775.

Sir, — Your favour of yesterday came duely to my hands — as I did not consider local appointments, as having any operation upon the general one, I had partly engaged (at least in my own mind) the office of Quartermaster Genl. before your favour was presented to me. In truth, Sir, I think it sound policy to bestow offices indiscriminately among Gentlemen of the different Governm'ts. for as all bear a proportionable part towards the expence of this War, if no Gentleman out of these four Governments come in for any share of the appointments, it may be apt to create jealousies which will, in the end, give disgust; for this reason, I would earnestly recom'd it to your Board to provide for some of the Volunteers who are come from Philadelphia, with very warm recommendations, tho' strangers to me.

In respect to the Boats &^a. from Salem, I doubt, in the first place, whether they could be brought over by Land — in the second, I am sure nothing could ever be executed here by surprise, as I am well convinced that nothing is transacted in our Camp, or Lines, but what is known in Boston in less than 24 hours, — indeed, circumstanced as we are, it is scarce possible to be otherwise, unless we were to stop the communication between the Country & our Camp & Lines, in which case, we sh'd render our supplies of milk, vegetables, &^a. difficult & precarious. We are now building a kind of Floating Battery; when that is done, and the utility of it discovered, I may possibly apply for Timber to build more, as circumstances shall require.

I remain with great esteem, Sir,
y'r most h'ble serv't.

GO. WASHINGTON."

Another letter, of same hand, addressed like the former, taken from another volume of MSS.

“CAMBRIDGE, Augt. 22d, 1775.

Sir, — In answer to your favour of yesterday, I must inform you, that I have often been told of the advantages of Point Alderton with respect to its command of the shipping going in and out of Boston Harbour ; and that it has, before now, been the object of my particular enquiries — That I find the accounts differ exceedingly in regard to the distance of the ship channel, — & that, there is a passage on the other side of the light House Island for all vessells except ships of the first Rate.

My knowledge of this matter would not have rested upon enquiries only, if I had found myself at any one time since I came to this place, in a condition to have taken such a Post. But it becomes my duty to consider, not only what place is advantageous, but what number of men are necessary to defend it — how they can be supported in case of an attack — how they may retreat, if they cannot be supported — & what stock of ammunition we are provided with for the purpose of self defence, or annoyance of the Enemy. — In respect to the first, I conceive our defence must be proportioned to the attack of Genl. Gage's whole force (leaving him just enough to man his Lines on Charles Town Neck & Roxbury) and with regard to the second, and most important object, we have only 184 Barrels. of powder in all, which is not sufficient to give 30 musket cartridges a man, and scarce enough to serve the artillery in any brisk action a single day.

Would it be prudent then in me, under these circumstances, to take a Post 30 miles distant from this place when we already have a Line of Circumvallation at least Ten miles in extent, any part of which may be attacked (if the Enemy will keep their own Council) without our having one hours previous notice of it ? — Or is it prudent to attempt a measure which necessarily would bring on a consumption of all the ammunition we have ; thereby leaving the army at the mercy of the Enemy, or to disperse, & the Country to be ravaged, and laid waste at discretion ? — To you, Sir, who is a well-wisher to the cause, and can reason upon the ef-

fects of such a Conduct, I may open myself with freedom, because no improper discoveries will be made of our Situation ; but I cannot expose my weakness to the Enemy (tho' I believe they are pretty well informed of every thing that passes) by telling this, and that man, who are daily pointing out this — that — and t'other place, of all the motives that govern my actions, notwithstanding I know what will be the consequence of not doing it — namely, that I shall be accused of inattention to the publick Service — and perhaps with want of Spirit to prosecute it. But this shall have no effect upon my conduct. I will steadily (as far as my judgment will assist me) pursue such measures as I think most conducive to the Interest of the cause, & rest satisfied under any obloquy that shall be thrown, conscious of having discharged my duty to the best of my abilities.

I am much obliged to you however, as I shall be to every Gentleman, for pointing out any measure which is thought conducive to the publick good, and cheerfully follow any advice which is not inconsistent with, but correspondent to, the general Plan in view, & practicable under such particular circumstances as govern in cases of the like kind. — In respect to point Alderton, I was no longer ago than Monday last, talking to Genl. Thomas on this head, & proposing to send Colo. Putnam down to take the distances &c^a. but considered it could answer no end but to alarm, & make the Enemy more vigilant, unless we were in a condition to possess the Post to effect. I thought it as well to postpone the matter a while.

I am, Sir,

Y^r very hble. serv^t.

G. WASHINGTON."

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Few and slight as these memorials appear, they amply repay my short research ; nor may they be wholly useless, if others are excited hereby, through more patient labors, to more successful acquisitions. The land of our fathers' sepulchres is abundant in objects of liberal inquiry, hoary with ancient renown, or brilliant in recent improvement ; and each class invites attention from citizens of our republic, one as generous competitors in civilization, the other as partakers of a common inheritance. More than six hundred

years ago, our progenitors assisted in the solemnity of laying the foundations of Magna Charta, and no violence has yet reached deep enough to disturb the fabric of human rights erected by the Laws of England, however changed have been parts of the superstructure, and occasionally fantastic some division of the ornaments. In the offspring the inhabitants of that island, generally, seemed to me willing to perceive no degeneracy, and to rejoice at our enterprize, and to desire our welfare.

29 Decr. 1842.

NOTE. An error is observable in the date of certificate No. 20 in the list of passengers of the *Hercules* of Sandwich, p. 275, 26 Mar. 1634, which, in the old mode of computation, would have been eleven months and eighteen days earlier than that immediately preceding, 16 Mar. 1634. We might presume, that both referred to our reckoning of the year, as March was the first month, though the first day of the year was 25th March; but this is forbidden by some of the dates being in February, and there can be no doubt, that voyage was in 1635. By the letter of the officers of the Custom House, on p. 319, we find, that the regulation from the Commissioners of the Privy Council was not issued before the month of December 1634. At the beginning of a year, most persons are liable to a similar mistake, in dating a letter, to use the old, instead of the new number.



